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A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

Hate Germany

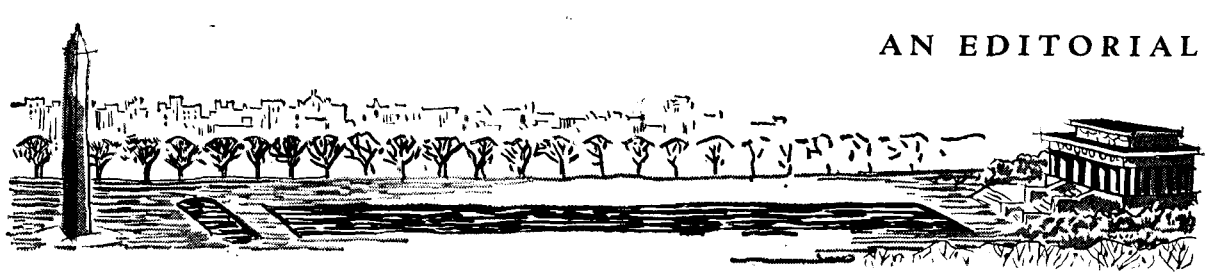
NORBERT MUHLEN

Madness in Their Method

GARRY WILLS

Who Are the Extremists?

AN EDITORIAL



Articles and Reviews by · · · E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN
WILLMOORE KENDALL · WILL HERBERG · JAMES BURNHAM
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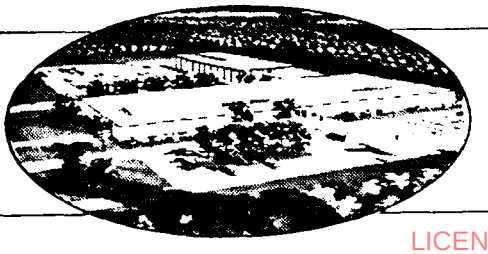

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A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔**Mr. Norbert Muhlen** gives a cinemascopic view of the campaign to foster distrust of Germany, and asks, of course, the question, *cui bono*? Mr. Muhlen was born a German, though now he is a naturalized citizen, a free-lance writer of books and magazines, and a frequent contributor to the *New Leader*. . . . **James Burnham** continues his analysis of the fundamental defects in Western strategy, until whose correction we must continue to lose the Third World War. . . . **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** writes from Japan, on the last leg of his round-the-world lecture tour. Dr. K-L gets, within a couple of paragraphs, to the heart of the matter. His knowledge of Japan is of long standing (he speaks Japanese, of course), and he describes, surely and compassionately, the air-conditioned long night of the soul of postwar Japan.

➔Professor **Will Herberg** loathes synthetic Christianity, and turns his withering gaze on those who feel that Christianity enjoins that, in our foreign relations, we turn the other cheek, and forgive and forgive and forgive the Communists. Such a position is as unrelated to dogmatic Christianity as its twin, the social gospel (all Christians are socialists) is unrelated to it. . . . And **Russell Kirk** reports a quiet week: "seven or eight lectures, an FM radio talk from Detroit on Sunday night," plus, of course, his column for NATIONAL REVIEW, the books he is writing, and his prodigious reading.

➔**Garry Wills** has gone through the new Webster's Dictionary. . . . Professor **Robert O. Bowen** of the University of Dallas has found three good novels. (Mr. Norman Mailer objected, in a conversation with an editor last week, to Mr. Bowen's automatically writing off a novel merely because it is scatological. See *NR*, Jan. 16.) Answer: Mr. Bowen doesn't write off a novel merely for that reason. Scatology has its purposes. But unless you're Rabelais, lay off the stuff. . . . Professor **Willmoore Kendall** has started lecturing at Georgetown University, and one of his courses will center on Fr. John Courtney Murray's book, *We Hold These Truths*. Mr. Kendall reviews a startlingly good book on local (New Haven) politics by sometime colleague (at Yale), Professor Robert Dahl. . . . And **Francis Russell** tells you what to expect if you go to see *El Cid*. The movie is actually not that bad, he tells us; and besides, it has a lot of Spain in it.

➔Professor Ernest van den Haag is back from the Congo, and has nearly completed his report for the American Committee to Aid Katanga Freedom Fighters. We hope to publish substantial parts of this important document in the next issue, or the one following. . . . We have been asked in recent weeks about the identity of **Cato**, our Washington columnist. He is a corporate entity, composed of several Washington sources which provide us with material for the Capitol Hill rundown.➔

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The WEEK

● From the *New York Times*, January 13, 1962, in an article on the avalanche disaster in Peru: "Ambassador James Loeb of the United States flew over the area yesterday with relief supplies, but was unable to land the Mau Mau terrorist group." Obviously a typo: the *Times* was thinking of UN troops.

● There's a man in Florida who has announced that he is, in this peaceful year 1962, about to undertake a dangerous campaign for his fatherland, to do or die in an effort to establish our military capacity in an area as yet disputed. And yet where are the Defenders of Peace and World Rule who are willing to attach the epithets of chauvinist, superpatriot, irresponsible increaser of world tensions, militarist, nationalist, and extremist to that dedicated young man, John Glenn, astronaut?

● Its telephone having been for some time, and quite obviously, tapped, the Katanga Information Service has succeeded in striking up a sort of communication with its invisible auditors. It started with the Katanga office wishing its tappers a Merry Christmas one day late in December, a message that undoubtedly softened the hearts of the sleuths to the extent that they recently informed the Katanga Information Service, in the middle of a conversation they were tapping, that they had run out of recording tape, and needed more. Whether Katanga obliged is unknown: one can, after all, do just so much on a limited budget.

● More than once during his African treks, G. Mennen Williams has come face to face with the Africans' "confident reliance" on aid from the U.S. In Mogadiscio, Somalia, he was met by a young and ebullient Somali student at the airport, who pumped the Secretary's hand vigorously in greeting and asked, "Did you bring my scholarship?"

● Katanga President Moise Tshombe has announced again his intention to be present at the March 7 Madison Square Garden rally of Young Americans for Freedom. His principal problem: will the U.S. State Department let him in? A recent State Department release says that Tshombe will have to apply for entrance to the U.S. through a visa of the Republic of the Congo, rather than through a Katangese visa, thereby implicitly accepting the authority of the central government. One thing seems certain: Tshombe at the Garden will face a sellout, capacity audience. More than half the 20,000 tickets have already been sold, a full month in advance. Write to Young Americans for Freedom, 79 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N.Y. for the remaining one-dollar, three-dollar and twenty-five-dollar tickets.

● Comrade N., director of a meat-processing plant near Warsaw, was having trouble with his refrigeration unit. One sweltering day last summer the thing quit entirely. Comrade N. *could* have reported to his superiors and let the meat spoil while they drew up policy statements, but instead he acted on his own initiative, started a round-the-clock operation of converting the meat to salami, wurst, *etc.*, and saved 95 per cent of the inventory from certain loss. Comrade N. is now in prison, serving a two-year sentence for spoiling the remaining 5 per cent. In Commie-land you just can't win: it's out of the cooler into the cooler.

● February 22 and 23, President Kennedy's brothers Bobby (*en route to Far East*) and Teddy (*en route* to Near East) will cross paths in Berlin. Viewed from the East, maybe That Wall has some uses after all.

● East Europeans enjoying this story about a Soviet delegate to the UN who was finally pressed into making certain admissions about his leader: "All right, all right, Comrade Khrushchev is morally responsible for the death of countless Ukrainians. It can truly be said he has a lust for power. His treatment of comrades who annoy him is not what one might call merciful. He is both sly and unpredictable. But gentlemen," with a beaming smile, "after all, no one is perfect."

● Mr. Will Maslow, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, speaking at the Stephen Wise Congress House in New York City last week, announced that "the far Right is now a public danger," and that it must be opposed "even knowing that everything to the left of the John Birch Society will be labeled subversive." Well, the Stephen Wise outfit is devoted to combating discrimination, and Mr. Will Maslow certainly does his share. He fails, for instance, to discriminate between 1) his demagogic augury that everything to the left of John Birch will be smeared as subversive, and 2) his demagogic assertion that everything to the right of—well, what: himself?—constitutes a Public Danger. If Mr. Maslow is really interested in discrimination, he should consult a few conservatives who might help him nurture a taste for relevant distinctions.

● The art of Fritz Kreisler, who died on January 29, was more than the art of one of the supreme violinists in all of history. It was the art of humanity grand in all things, spirit, passion, intellect, life it-

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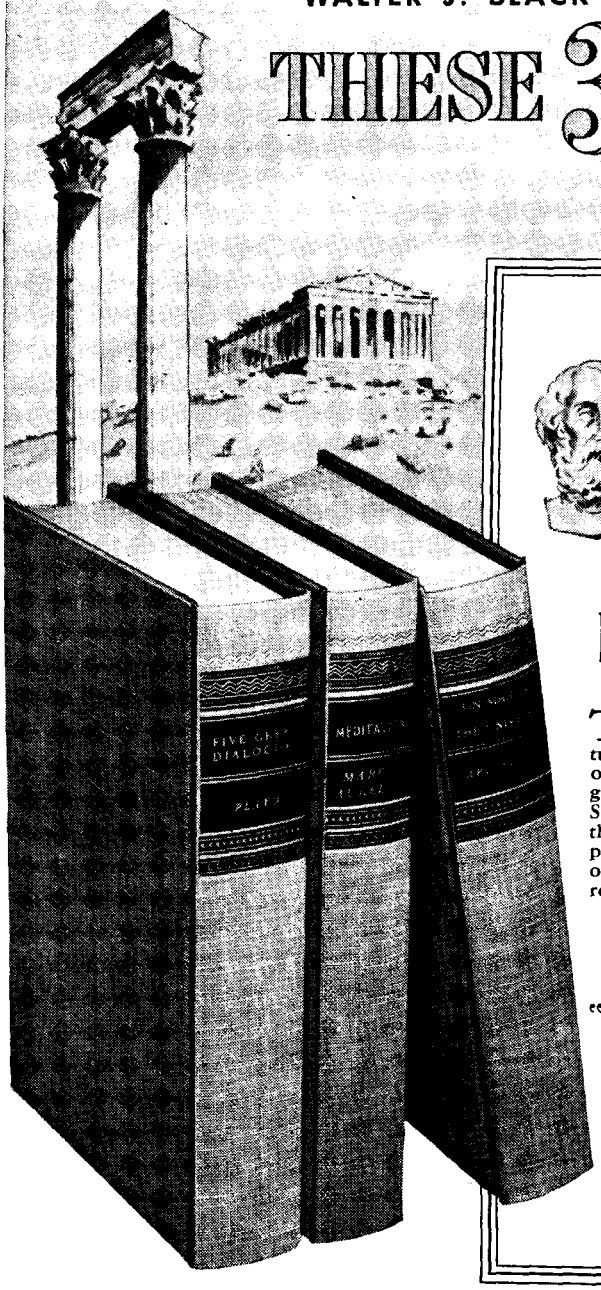

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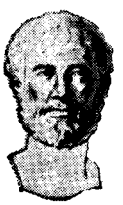
MARCUS AURELIUS

MEDITATIONS

THROUGH these writings, you gaze as if through a powerful telescope at the Rome of eighteen centuries ago. You will be struck by resemblances to our own era as you read the wise Meditations of the great emperor-philosopher, Marcus Aurelius, the Stoic who found peace in traditional customs... the witty arguments of Lucian, the Skeptic, who punctured so many beliefs... the impassioned words of Justin, the Christian, willing to die for the new religion.

ARISTOTLE ON MAN IN THE UNIVERSE



"THE master of them that know," this supreme mind of the fabulous Golden Age of Greece was called by the poet Dante. He was so far ahead of his era that his ideas are astonishingly timely today. Nature, politics, art, drama, logic, morals — he explored them all, with a mind open to truth and a heart eager for understanding.

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self. Born in 1875, he conquered the Vienna Conservatory at age ten. Three years later his violin was singing in America. Master of the classical and modern languages, student of literature and philosophy, amateur orientalist, dedicated philanthropist, incomparable performer, enduringly beloved composer, and a husband for sixty years, he was that wondrous thing that is becoming all too rare in these times—a full man, fashioned in the grand manner. His art had been still since 1950, and now he is himself dead. The man and his music are irreplaceable, but we can hope that the world will always remember what he was, and what he stood for, and how he would have liked things to be.

The Punta Junta Won't

The conference of the Organization of American States at Punta del Este has adopted, by the frail margin of two-thirds, a resolution that ignores substantial chunks of reality, interprets what is left in the light of erroneous principles, and arrives at a decision that decides nothing now and may confuse much in the future.

Cuba, the conference finds, has adopted the "Marxist-Leninist ideology," accepts "military assistance from extra-continental Communist powers," including "even the threat of military intervention in America [*i.e.*, the Western Hemisphere] on the part of the Soviet Union," and so is "incompatible" with the principles, standards, obligations, collective interest, human rights, democratic objectives, and unity and solidarity of the Western Hemisphere.

And so the OAS has voted, no less, to recognize this "incompatibility" and not to expel Cuba from the organization, but merely to exclude her from taking part in any of its official activities, including, presumably, cocktail parties.

While the Liberal press hails this craven resolution as a triumph of Dean Rusk's personal diplomatic expertise, let us go over the ground once again, this time *our* way. 1) The Castro regime is a military tyranny bent on territorial expansion, and stoked by the Free World's enemy. 2) Its geographical placement constitutes a strategic threat. 3) Even if the Western Hemisphere, through the OAS, expressed its goal as unity and solidarity of social systems, this goal is secondary to the continuing requirement of military defense from *any* kind of tyrannical social-military system. 4) Faced with an overt military threat, the OAS should respond with an ultimatum: Cease, or take the consequences. 5) The personal diplomacy of Dean Rusk might have accomplished much less if it had not been *his* government, but Castro's, which had baited the hook with a $20 billion Alliance for Progress.

If the OAS cannot perform better than this, then it is time the United States took another look at the inhibitions and trammels it accepts as its share of the Treaty of Rio. If $20 billion promises can purchase only the avoidance of reality and a scrupulous deference to our sworn antagonists, then it would be cheaper, simpler, and safer to withdraw from the Rio Treaty and announce that we shall undertake in the future to defend ourselves, without benefit of committee. It will come to that, anyway.

Who Are the Extremists?

Reading the papers lately, we have found ourselves idly noting:

1) Three hundred and fifty "beards and leotards" (as described by the *Herald Tribune*), clad in dirty jackets, sagging sweaters, and sloppy blouses, staged a "General Strike for Peace" by tramping in disorderly lines down the sidewalk and half the roadway of New York's Fifth Avenue. They carried glass-globed Peace Torches, placards denouncing nuclear tests, arms, and fallout shelters ("Dogs Et Al Want to be Active, Not Radioactive," "We Declare Peace Against Russia and the United States"). Jostling pedestrians aside, they crowded around Pete Seeger, the Communist Party's favorite folk singer, to join in chanting "You Can Dig Your Grave in Your Own Back Yard" and the stirring new student chorus, "I Ain't Gonna Study War No More." A march leader explained to reporters that they were calling on the people "to walk out on their government and on their armies."

2) On the Connecticut Turnpike, two self-described pacifists, Bram Luckom and Henry Wershaw, were (illegally) soliciting rides at peril to themselves and oncoming traffic. When state policemen tried to get them off the road, they lay down. They had to be carried into court and carried out after a hearing. Last August, Luckom and a number of others had attempted to board the nuclear submarine, Ethan Allen, at its commissioning at Groton, and then too had to be dragged from the scene.

3) At Southern University (all-Negro), the administration and students were locked in bitter struggle because the President, pursuant to the law, had suspended seven undergraduates who had been arrested after taking part in disorderly and violent riots in nearby Baton Rouge.

4) Several thousand fur-coated ladies Paraded for Peace ("Peace or Perish," "We Believe in People") before the White House. Said Mrs. Gage-Colby, "international coordinator of Women Strike for Peace": "Since the war all the calls for peace have come from the East" (meaning Moscow).

5) In spite of court orders, students, acting under

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the strategic guidance of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) maintained a 24-hour sitdown in the corridors outside the office of the Chancellor of the University of Chicago. Their professed complaint was the "gradualness" of the University—which has a notorious record of liberality on all racial and civil rights matters—in opening all housing it owns to total integration.

6) Addressing 1,500 anti-arms demonstrators blocking public highways opposite UN headquarters, Harold Taylor, former President of Sarah Lawrence College, told them to demand immediate unilateral disarmament (*unilateral*: disarmament by this country, whether or not the Soviet Union and China disarm).

7) Municipalities in various parts of the South continued to try to deal with the relicts of expeditionary forces from Northern cities which have entered their precincts in deliberate offense to local custom and ordinance.

8) Nine hundred professors of universities on the Eastern Seaboard denounced in large newspaper advertisements and press releases the idea of building any sort of fallout shelters.

9) SANE, recovering from its fainting spell after last autumn's Soviet nuclear tests, backed up the anti-shelter campaign, and demanded that we continue our unilateral test ban.

10) The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, after greeting with a month's discreet silence Castro's open announcement of his Communist allegiance, resumed its campaign in favor of the Castro regime.

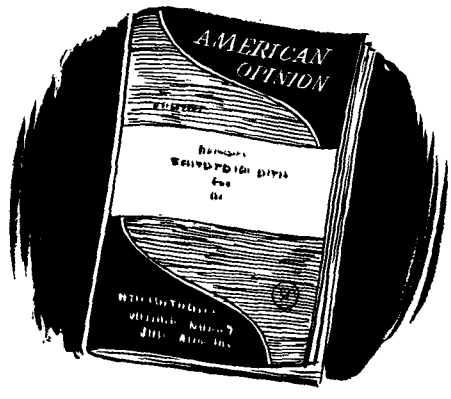
Now it may be noted that various and sundry persons have in some or most of these episodes: a) advocated policies that would strip this country of the means by which it could defend itself against actual or possible enemies; b) given aid and comfort to this country's declared enemies; c) launched unconditional attacks on our government's laws and policies; d) put forward crude, oversimplified and irrational slogans; e) appealed to fear, envy and ignorance; f) used methods highly offensive to many of their fellow citizens, disruptive of public order, and in many instances palpably illegal.

We have so far failed to find any published dispatch, editorial, or column that designates any of the persons involved in these or similar episodes as "extremists."

In the recent new edition of *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary,* its editors frankly adopted "current usage" as the only standard for the meaning of words. For their next revision we commend to their attention the proper definition of "extremism": *n.* Quality or state of being to the Right of Harvard.

The Question of Robert Welch

In the past few weeks a number of conservative spokesmen whose credentials and sincerity are unassailable have made public statements about Mr. Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, calling into question his qualifications to lead a national anti-Communist and anti-statist movement. Russell Kirk, replying to a letter addressed to him by an executive of the John Birch Society, writes that he knows Mr. Welch to be a "likeable, honest, courageous, energetic man" who nevertheless "by silliness and injustice of utterance" has become "the kiss of death" for any conservative enterprise. Congressman Walter Judd said in Minneapolis that he considers Mr. Welch's judgment so flawed as to disqualify him from leadership of an effective anti-Communist movement. Senator Barry Goldwater said he feels Mr. Welch should resign; and, should he refuse to do so, the Society should disband and reorganize under different leadership. Fulton Lewis Jr., at the *Human Events* Conference in Washington, criticized Mr. Welch's direction of the Society. And, it is widely known, some members of the National Council of the John Birch Society are at their wits' end, and one or two have quietly resigned. Their dilemma is, reduced to the simplest terms: How can the John Birch Society be an effective political instrument while it is led by a man whose views on current affairs are, at so many critical points, so



critically different from their own, and, for that matter, so far removed from common sense?

That dilemma weighs on conservatives throughout America. It is not a dilemma imposed by the pressure of Liberal or Communist objections to Mr. Welch. If not a single criticism had been made of

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Mr. Welch by the Liberal press, the dilemma would exist just the same, and conservatives sooner or later would have to face it. Months before the Liberals even heard of Mr. Welch, many of his associates and enthusiasts were urging Mr. Welch to reshape his views, and they proceeded on the assumption that in due course he would. The underlying problem is whether conservatives can continue to acquiesce tacitly in a rendition of the causes of the decline of the Republic and the entire Western world which is false, and besides that, crucially different in practical emphasis from their own. It is unlikely that Barry Goldwater, the political leader of the conservative and anti-Communist movement in America; that Walter Judd, one of anti-Communism's most eloquent and unyielding spokesmen; that Fulton Lewis Jr., among the most obdurate opponents of Communism abroad and statism at home; that Russell Kirk, whose books have done more to reanimate a full-bodied conservatism than any one else's; or indeed that NATIONAL REVIEW, whose editors are lifetime students of Communism and Liberalism, could be stampeded by the Liberal juggernaut into unnecessary collisions with a man who is engaged in furthering conservative ends. These men have not bent under public pressure before, and are not likely to. Yet their opinion—our opinion—is that Robert Welch is damaging the cause of anti-Communism.

Why?

Because he persists in distorting reality and in refusing to make the crucial moral and political distinction. And unless that distinction is reckoned with, the mind freezes, and we become consumed in empty rages. The distinction is between 1) *an active pro-Communist*, and 2) *an ineffectually anti-Communist Liberal.*

It is widely known that Mr. Welch wrote a tract in which he declared that, among others, Mr. Eisenhower, his brother Milton, and the Dulles brothers were Communists. It is assumed by the overwhelming majority of the membership of the John Birch Society, who implicitly reject the accusation against Eisenhower *et al.* (just as the Council of the John Birch Society explicitly rejected the accusation when, a year ago, it was publicly brought to light), that Mr. Welch's charges were merely personal political speculation, of no bearing whatever on the John Birch Society and its activities. That is a crucial misapprehension. Although the work on Mr. Eisenhower (sometimes it is called "The Politician," sometimes "The Black Book") was indeed written before the John Birch Society was founded, it was circulated *right up until a year ago* to select members of the Society as, by implication, the ultimate insight of the founder and leader of the John Birch Society. Mr. Welch has never disavowed the book, and for

For the Record

Watch out for more-than-ordinary build-up of Edward R. Murrow. It could mean Democrats have decided to run him against GOP Sen. Jacob Javits in New York. . . . Washington sources say if Congress balks at Pres. Kennedy's plan for new Dept. of Urban Affairs, Kennedy might appoint Robert Weaver to Cabinet anyway, to replace Abraham Ribicoff (HEW) who will be running in Conn. for the Senate. . . . Career CIAmen, remembering epic clash between Gen. Trudeau and Allen Dulles some years back over a celebrated espionage case, opposing Trudeau's appointment as deputy to CIA chief McCone. . . . Liberal Texas Sen. Yarborough has reassured Kennedy Administration. Yarborough will not run for Governor of Texas against Lyndon Johnson-picked candidate, John Connally. His friends insist Gen. Walker still plans to run against Connally in Democratic primary. . . . Chester Bowles added his bit to Punta del Este by assuring Latin American softs (via major TV program) that U.S. would not cut funds to countries opposing a strong stand on Cuba. . . . Rumors that Robert Kennedy will step out of Cabinet springing up faster than official denials.

On Jan. 3, after hearing rumors of new massacres in Congo, the Belgian Ambassador to UN wrote U Thant asking for help. On Jan. 6, U Thant replied that UN troops were otherwise committed (in Katanga) and that he'd try to send a Red Cross investigating team into area (which he didn't). . . . Pravda reports there have been demonstrations demanding release of pro-Communist Antoine Gizenga in the cities of Kursk, Frunze and Alma Ata. . . . French General Ailleret has ordered his subordinates never to use the Foreign Legion against the outlawed OAS in Algeria. . . . French security agents investigating fact that Catholic (FO) union workers did not join in the December anti-OAS demonstrations in force now believe several union leaders are members of the secret rightist organization.

India, under Defense Ministership of Krishna Menon, now has most combat-ready divisions on Pakistan borders; only one patrolling long northern frontier with Red China. . . . Portugal is quietly reinforcing Portuguese Guinea in case some one should try a Goa on it.

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obvious reasons: it can be demonstrated, by quotations from his current writings, that the Black Book's central thesis (that the government of the United States has been "under operational control of the Communist Party"—words he used publicly in the summer of 1960) continues to govern his thinking even today.

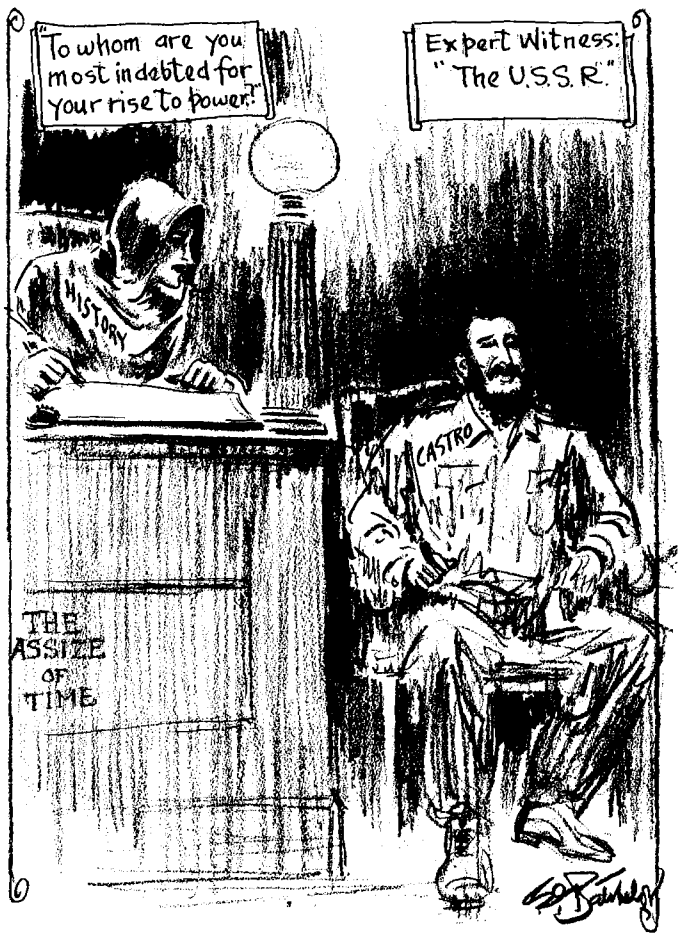
A member of the John Birch Society is entitled to observe, as so many of them, men and women of high character and purpose, have done: "But *I* don't believe in any such nonsense—what has it all to do with the John Birch Society, of which I am a member?" It has this to do with it: the premises of the Eisenhower book are identical with the premises that underlie current statements by Mr. Welch on contemporary affairs, and continue to guide his practical leadership of the Society.

For instance, a few weeks ago, Mr. Welch gave an interview to the *Boston Herald* in which he commented on the Cuban fiasco last spring. "The Cuban invasion," said Mr. Welch, "was a plot by Fidel Castro and his friends in the U.S. Government. The invasion was planned by Castro *and his friends in our government* to make Castro stronger throughout Latin America [and to] reduce U.S. prestige."

But in fact, as everyone including Mr. Welch knows, the so-called invasion of Cuba was planned by the Eisenhower Administration, and endorsed by Eisenhower himself, reaffirmed by the Kennedy Administration and by Kennedy himself, and executed by the Kennedy Administration. What went wrong is that John Kennedy's will failed him at the crucial hour, when he gave orders to deprive the invading force of the military support which alone could have brought liberation. "The responsibility I take for myself," said Mr. Kennedy after the catastrophe. But if, as Mr. Welch alleges, the invasion was, in plan and execution, a Communist plot, how can it otherwise be deduced than that Eisenhower—and for that matter Kennedy—are pro-Communist?

Mr. Welch's annual Scoreboard, published in a summer issue of *American Opinion,* Mr. Welch's *public* journal, has for several years listed the United States as "40-60%" Communist-controlled. And this past summer Mr. Welch raised the figure to "50-70+%"! That is to say, he is reaffirming his belief that, to quote again his own words, "the government of the United States is under operational control of the Communist Party." That was the thesis of the Black Book.

What is more, Mr. Welch brooks no disagreement on his central thesis. He does not require of his members that they expressly accept it—they would leave his Society in droves if he did. But in his communications and editorials he is constantly putting forward his thesis, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly, and always excluding disagreement



with it as non-rational or treasonable. "We wrote in 1951," Mr. Welch says in the current (January) issue of *American Opinion,* "the truth concerning Tito. We said that he always had been, still was, and would remain, a faithful Communist agent of the Kremlin. That his break with Stalin was completely stage-managed and phony. . . And we outlined the facts and considerations *which made such a conclusion inescapable to anybody who cared about the truth.*"

Now, there are others than Mr. Welch who care for the truth, who are very anti-Communist indeed, and who have followed Tito's career perhaps longer and more closely than Mr. Welch, but who would nevertheless reject these inflated sentences. NATIONAL REVIEW, for instance, has always believed that Tito is and remains a dedicated Communist and as such can never be a friend or ally of the West. But the relationship between Tito and Stalin, and between Tito and Khrushchev, has been very complex, and not conceivably to be reduced to the simple dependence of puppet on puppet-master. Over the years men as staunchly anti-Communist and as diligent in the pursuit of truth in international affairs as John Foster Dulles, Senator Robert A. Taft, Professor Gerhart Niemeyer, Frank Meyer, and James Burnham, have seen that there were schismatical strains in Titoism of a kind that we should try to exploit—

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and at times have succeeded in exploiting, as we did in bringing the Greek civil war to a conclusion that would not have been possible if Tito's break with Stalin had been a total fraud; that the rupture between Tito and Moscow was by no means illusory in the sense of being artificially stage-managed, but illusory only if we deceive ourselves into thinking that because of this rupture within the Communist camp Tito could be regarded as *our* ally.

But Mr. Welch will not tolerate such distinctions. He anathematizes all who disagree with him. ". . . terrific strong support [was] given to Tito, as [an alleged] defector to and friend of the West, by *Life* and *Time*; . . . not being readers of either magazine, we did not then realize the part being so frequently played by the Luce publications in spreading the Communist line." In other words, *Time* and *Life* are not merely notoriously unreliable exegetes of a purposive anti-Communist position (on which proposition one might agree) but, by Mr. Welch's innuendo, they are compliant, if not intentional, purveyors of a pro-Communist line.

Mr. Welch continues his survey: "Practically by the time [*American Opinion*] began publication . . . we pointed out that . . . Nehru of India and Nasser of Egypt were *every bit as completely Communist agents of the Kremlin as . . . Mao Tse-tung . . .* We supplied as many of the facts, and as much of the history of each man, as could be assembled in the space we had available, *to show that any other conclusion in each case was absurd.*" "The notion that Nasser is an agent of the Kremlin," Russell Kirk recently wrote in his letter analyzing Mr. Welch's "erratic intuitions," is capricious. "One does not have to be a Communist to be a scoundrel. Anyone familiar with Arab nationalism will regard this allegation with contempt." Nasser has certainly exposed himself to Communist opportunism (so, on several occasions, did Dulles): it does not follow he (or Dulles) has been a Communist agent.

". . . In the fall of 1956," Mr. Welch continues, "we pointed out that both revolts in [Poland and Hungary] had been *deliberately precipitated by the Kremlin for its own purpose.*" Thus, stunned, we are expected to believe that the Polish and Hungarian uprisings were not spontaneous and heroic revolts against Communist tyranny, the results of an exploding human spirit, but mere Communist theater! And this we are expected to believe, notwithstanding the self-evident facts of the situation and the abundant testimony to the contrary of survivors of these uprisings against tyranny, which embarrassed Khrushchev more than any events in modern Communist history. We are, in sum, asked to believe that Khrushchev engineered his own embarrassment.

You name him, if he disagrees strongly, he's most likely on the other side. Our CIA is pro-*Communist,* says Welch—and he doesn't say it only in his Black Book, but in the *current issue* of *American Opinion,* and in the issue before. "You must realize," he wrote in the December issue, *"the CIA is on the* [*Communist*] *side.*" In the current issue he refers to "Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Touré, our CIA, and *all of the other Communist and pro-Communist* troublemakers. . ." Our State Department? "One whole year before the *Communist-fomented and Communist-led revolt, supported in every practicable way by our State Department,* succeeded in overthrowing Syngman Rhee in South Korea. . .," *i.e.,* our State Department (undoubtedly the world's most maladroit) desires (for Mr. Welch implies that the character of the insurrectionary movement was translucent) to further pro-Communist ends. (Actually, Syngman Rhee was overthrown by a military junta whose principal agent was a staunch anti-Communist.) The press? ". . . the Communist bosses themselves . . . obviously felt that *their control of the American government and of our media of mass communication* was sufficiently *complete* to make even this drastic move [Castro's take-over in Cuba] safe." *Control,* mind you. And again, no disagreement is tolerable: "This article [written about Castro by Mr. Welch], we believe we can say with honest pride and also with accuracy, was devastating in showing the *idiocy of any claim by anybody*—who claimed to be informed—that Castro could possibly be anything but a one hundred per cent Communist."

Now, NATIONAL REVIEW in 1957 suggested Castro was *probably* a Communist. That is one thing: to say that anyone who *disagreed* was idiotic, *i.e.,* that the businessmen, priests, journalists, politicians, scholars, students (many of whom grew up with Castro and fought side by side with him, believing him to

Then . . .

"For the sake of honesty, however, I want to confess here my own conviction that Eisenhower's motivation is more ideological than opportunistic. Or, to put it bluntly, I personally think that he has been sympathetic to ultimate Communist aims, realistically willing to use Communist means to help them achieve their goals, knowingly accepting and abiding by Communist orders, and consciously serving the Communist conspiracy, for all of his adult life. . . . But my firm belief that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy is based on an accumulation of detailed evidence so extensive and so palpable that it seems to me to put this conviction beyond any reasonable doubt."

From The Politician, *by Robert Welch, 1958*

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. . . *and Now*

"The whole canvas [deals] . . . with Washington's visible will to win this Cold War—for the Soviets. . . . Perhaps the most alarming thing about current history in the making is the way Washington [has become a part] of the whole international conspiracy of which it is now another Mecca second only to Moscow. . . . And we have seen on every side, in a hundred different manifestations, the unceasing efforts of our government to carry out all programs and take all steps required to bring about the merger of the United States with Soviet Russia and all of its satellites into a one-world socialist government. . . . These are all plain facts . . . incontrovertibly clear to anybody who will use the eyes, the intelligence, and the common sense God gave him."

From American Opinion, *by Robert Welch, Jan. 1962*

be non-Communist) who disagreed, were Communists or pro-Communists or morally and intellectually helpless, is to make categorical condemnations which miss the whole point of the human predicament, namely, that two different people, having surveyed the same datum, can recreate differently what they saw; that two anti-Communists, evaluating the same problem, can honestly advocate different approaches towards the same solution. The United States should have struck Castro down from the very beginning, but our failure to do so was, at the critical level, a failure of will, a failure of perspicacity, not a failure of loyalty. But Mr. Welch disagrees; for indeed, he believes the man primarily responsible for Castro, Dwight Eisenhower, is a Communist.

NATO? "With regard to that brain child of Dean Acheson, godchild of Harry Truman, and eventual ward of Dwight Eisenhower, named NATO, we have repeatedly insisted for years that it was probably the biggest—and certainly the most expensive—hoax in *all* human history," *i.e.*, NATO affects to serve an anti-Communist purpose, but in fact does not, and never was intended to. Here we have, claims Mr. Welch, a hoax on anti-Communists that deceives Europe's premier anti-Communist, Konrad Adenauer. And de Gaulle. And the entire anti-Communist community of Europe. And Fulton Lewis. And Walter Judd. And Barry Goldwater. And the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW. And the editors of *Human Events* . . . all of whom have backed NATO. Everyone is out of step. . .

Bolivia is controlled by Communists, says Mr. Welch. Well, let us assume for the moment that it is. But the question is, have our leaders desired that Bolivia should be pro-Communist? Certainly, says Mr. Welch. ". . . Bolivia has been *made* a satellite and *kept* one"—by the United States Government. Disagree? ". . . If you believe that there is *anybody* of *any* importance in *either* the last Administration or the present one who has not known this fact, then there is simply no reason for your reading any more of this article." Berlin? "We have seen the *artificially created* and *completely phony* Berlin 'crisis' *used as a means* of building up the prestige of that *hypocritical Comsymp* Willy Brandt."

"In fact, the whole canvas of this compendium was designed as a background for these final brush strokes, dealing with *Washington's visible will to win this Cold War—for the Soviets* . . . Perhaps the most alarming thing about current history in the making is the way Washington [has become a part] of *the whole international conspiracy of which it is now another Mecca second only to Moscow.*" And in domestic affairs? ". . . we have seen budgetary proposals urged by the Administration which are as clearly *designed* to debase and destroy our currency through inflation as if they had been prepared by Karl Marx himself . . ." Note: the allegation is not that our inflationary policies will weaken us—which they most certainly will—but that our inflationary policies, which are (unfortunately) endorsed by a) the Administration, b) the majority of both houses of Congress, c) the majority of the nation's academicians, d) many business and banking and insurance interests— are *designed* to weaken us: *i.e.*, that all these people in effect desire the triumph of Communism, or are totally manipulable by Communist agents.

And Mr. Welch's summation: "And we have seen on every side, in a hundred different manifestations, the unceasing *efforts* of our government *to carry out all programs and take all steps required to bring about the merger of the United States with Soviet Russia and all of its satellites into a one-world socialist government.*" Disagree? "These are all plain facts . . . incontrovertibly clear to *anybody* who will use the eyes, the intelligence, and the common sense God gave him."

Woe unto the man who disagrees with Mr. Welch. He is 1) an idiot, or 2) a Comsymp, or 3) an outright Communist.

There are members of the John Birch Society, and they include, in our judgment, some of the most morally energetic, self-sacrificing, and dedicated anti-Communists in America, who ask: But what does it matter, if we and Mr. Welch disagree on a number of things? The answer—Senator Goldwater, Mr. Judd, Russell Kirk, and other critics of Mr. Welch would agree—is in two parts. The first is political: are these disagreements on trivial or on substantive matters? It is essential, if one would endorse Mr. Welch's analysis, to believe that the Government of the

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United States is under the operational control of men who desire to betray this nation and cause us to become a satellite of the Soviet Union. That is a substantive premise, from which all political analysis, strategy, and tactics are derivative. Should one, disagreeing with Mr. Welch on so central a matter, nevertheless support him because he is also against federal aid to education, and fluoridated water? Gerald L. K. Smith will not disagree with Goldwater on most domestic proposals. Should Goldwater then be pro-Gerald Smith? Nikita Khrushchev favors medical care for the aged. Should the Liberals be pro-Khrushchev? Robert Welch cannot be compared to these men, but the point is valid, that there are bounds to the dictum: Anyone on my right is my ally, just as there are bounds (often unrecognized by the Liberals) to the complementary dictum, Anyone on my left is my ally.

And secondly, there is the moral consideration: Can one endorse the efforts of a man who, in one's judgment, goes about bearing false witness? (Was Jehovah, who answered the question on Mount Sinai with the Eighth Commandment, a Comsymp?) We have no doubt Mr. Welch himself honestly believes that all those people are Communists—that mitigates his moral culpability. But those of us who disagree are not excused if, by our silence, we egg him on.

The fact of the matter is that Mr. Welch, by what Russell Kirk has called "an excess of zeal, intemperance, and imprudence," promotes a split in the conservative movement—by asking for the tacit support of men who cannot in good conscience give it, who, moreover, feel that to give it is to damage our chances of success. "Cry wolf often enough," Mr. Kirk wrote to Mr. Welch, "and everyone takes you for an imbecile or a knave, when after all there *are* wolves in this world." If we are to win the war against Communism, we have no less a task before us than to change national policy. Nothing is clearer than that Mr. Welch is not succeeding in doing anything of the sort, precisely because, by the extravagance of his remarks, he repels, rather than attracts a great following. The John Birch Society required for effective leverage, according to Mr. Welch's own estimates, one million members (it might have had many millions, if properly led!); it has, even after great national publicity, and largely because of Mr. Welch's "intemperance of utterance," less than one-tenth that many members, and is growing no faster than the movement to impeach Earl Warren, who remains as unimpeached today as when Mr. Welch first launched that ill-conceived campaign. Mr. Welch, for all his good intentions, threatens to divert militant conservative action to irrelevance and ineffectuality. There are, as we say, great things that need doing, the winning of a national election, the re-education of the governing class. John Birch chapters can do much to forward those aims, but only as they dissipate the fog of confusion that issues from Mr. Welch's smoking typewriter. Mr. Welch has revived in many men the spirit of patriotism, and that same spirit calls now for rejecting, out of a love of truth and country, his false counsels.

Notes and Asides

The case of *Buckley* vs. *Meng*, testing NATIONAL REVIEW's right to rent an auditorium from Hunter College for our Forums [see *NR*, Nov. 4, 1961], has now been adjudicated by the Supreme Court of New York. While the battle may not yet be over, it is safe to say at this point that Hunter's President, John Meng, and his Sancho Panza, Dean Fritz Morstein Marx, now know a lot more about the obligations of custodians of public buildings than they used to.

President Meng had taken the stand that NATIONAL REVIEW could no longer rent Hunter's non-ivied halls because, abomination of abominations, we present "a distinct position . . . opposed by substantial parts of the public."

In words that need none of our editing, Mr. Justice Arthur Markewich taught his backward pupils a lesson or two: "Unfortunately, the President's memorandum confuses the two aspects in which his institution must be viewed: as an educational institution on the one hand and, on the other, as the custodian and, in effect, landlord of public buildings, the use of which may be allowed 'for other than college or university purposes' (sect. 6202, subd. 4, Education Law of New York). . . . Respondent President misapprehends the applicable law when he speaks of the controversial nature of petitioner's programs, 'its aims and point of view. . . . the responses it evokes in those not belonging to it'—none of those things are the concern of respondents, nor is it a proper consideration that another side of a controversial point of view is or is not presented, and it certainly is not their affair that the unthinking may believe that the college favors the lessee group over one opposed to it. The President's view as to his duty *vis-à-vis* outside groups is obviously mistaken. . . ."

Judge Markewich went on to add that NATIONAL REVIEW would nevertheless be required to submit fresh pleadings, specifically alleging (as the originals had not) instances of discrimination on Hunter's part between NATIONAL REVIEW and other organizations in the same category. Further developments will be reported here. Meanwhile, we trust Dean Marx is curling up these chilly nights with the Education Law of New York.

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From Washington Straight

CATO

With only two dissenting votes recorded (New York's Republican John Lindsay and Democrat William Fitts Ryan) the House of Representatives rammed through the Cunningham Amendment to the postal rate increase bill on Tuesday, January 23.

The amendment, which bans the use of the U.S. mails for the transmission of Communist propaganda coming into the U.S. from Communist bloc nations, was bitterly opposed by the Kennedy Administration but House Democrats recognized the fact that a vote against it was, in effect, a vote cast against their chances of re-election next November. Thus the all but unanimous vote for the amendment.

Within hours, the Liberal Establishment moved into action. *Washington Post* editorials, in both the *Post* itself and on its TV outlet WTOP, blasted the House for its action. Other Liberal papers quickly followed suit. In his news conference, President Kennedy deplored the passage of Rep. Glenn Cunningham's anti-Communist amendment on the grounds that it might well cause the Russians and their slave states to retaliate by refusing to handle U.S. mail going into Soviet-bloc nations.

The editorial arguments echoed this charge but reserved most of their venom for the "anti-intellectual" and "pro-censorship" aspects of the amendment. The American people, they told us, are sufficiently sophisticated to be able to discount Communist propaganda and at the same time sift out facts that might be helpful for the free exchange of ideas, both scientific and philosophical.

The real story behind Cunningham's effort, however, tells an entirely different tale. The Nebraska Republican did a thorough job of research on his subject and marshalled his arguments so carefully as to make them unassailable by any but the most prejudiced critics.

To begin with, Cunningham reasoned that there was little excuse for a Communist propaganda program that is financed by the U.S. taxpayer when the Post Office Department is running at a murderous deficit. Moreover, if American postal users are to be presented with higher costs they have a right to demand that our enemies cease getting a free ride through the U.S. mails.

Cunningham, who is proving himself to be one of the most effective anti-Communists (effective meaning he gets things done) on Capitol Hill, fully expected the "scientific value" argument to be used against him. So, early in the game, he set about amassing a huge supply of Communist material which has been going into millions of American homes each month. And he looked at it to see which contain real value from a professional standpoint—to find that very little of it does.

Mrs. Sarah McClendon's favorite color appears to be red. And she particularly enjoys seeing it spread all over the faces of various and sundry Presidents of the United States. Not the red that characterizes embarrassment, mind you, but the red that accompanies a good old-fashioned burst of temper.

At President Kennedy's January 24 press conference her heart must have leaped for joy. All she had to do was ask the President one little question and—lo and behold—the Presidential face went scarlet.

Mrs. McClendon, it seems, had the temerity to refer to a couple of State Department boys as "security risks". In so doing she maneuvered the President into what may well turn out to be one of the neatest little political traps sprung around here since Harry Truman found himself in a barrel of red herrings.

One of Mrs. McClendon's targets was that old Cuba hand William Wieland. Three former U.S. Ambassadors have already imparted to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee their substantial doubts concerning Mr. Wieland's value to the maintenance of American security. The State Department's Security Bureau, back in the Eisenhower days, took a good look at Mr. Wieland and was appalled by what it found. For one thing, Mr. Wieland lived for some years in Cuba under an assumed name. For another, he had neglected to tell his State Department superiors about his name-changing.

Some Republicans here feel Mrs. McClendon may have done the GOP a very good turn indeed. They feel that the dressing-down Mr. Kennedy gave Mrs. McClendon isn't good enough. There are a number of questions concerning Mr. Wieland which have to be answered. And they believe that the answers may make Mr. Kennedy regret his hurried support of Mr. Wieland. Moreover, they say that the entire question of internal security may now be wide open. And that the hunting will be very good.

House and Senate Republicans are seething over an attack in the Harvard-based publication *Advance*. (*Advance*, you'll remember, is that Modern Republican magazine started in Harvard and staffed by Harvard graduate students, which has been going a couple of years. It was widely rumored when it started publishing that there was Rockefeller money behind it.) The series of articles in the latest issue was so full of distortions and mis-statements of fact that answering them would be a major undertaking, which the source of the attack does not warrant.

Rep. Charles Halleck, flushed with two major victories over the Democratic Liberals, can afford to be magnanimous about the whole thing even though *Advance's* attack on him was both vicious and unwarranted. Faced with a tough session during which he is going to have to use every bit of his enormous ability as a parliamentary maneuverer, Halleck has no intention of letting the *Advance* mosquito bites bother him. Incidentally, conservatives should watch the minority leader with great care during this session of Congress. He is tough and determined and he will very probably run rings around the majority party from now till adjournment. It is a good bet that Mr. Halleck's abilities will stand conservatives, and his country, in good stead many times before the 87th Congress goes home.

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Why the Hate-Germany Campaign?

. . . and more important: Who benefits most from it? The Communists, of course, whose postwar strategy in Europe has been to forestall German rearmament

NORBERT MUHLEN

Kremlinologists ought to go to the movies once in a while. To understand Moscow's prime propaganda target of the year, they only have to visit the latest picture presented by Stanley Kramer, Hollywood's world-famous producer of message movies. One of his first great successes was *Death of a Salesman,* which debunked America's social order; at the time this film was presented, Moscow was depicting America as a country in which the Common Man struggled against Wall Street and the Pentagon. Even more of a world-wide success was Mr. Kramer's next movie, *On the Beach,* a powerful appeal to atom bomb anxieties. It happened to be shown while Khrushchev was doing his best to scare this country out of its wits, to denounce it abroad, and to paralyze its defense effort by stopping our nuclear armaments. In this country and abroad, Mr. Kramer's fantasy of fear helped to achieve this goal. When the Soviets exploded their own new superbombs, and fallout became a friendly achievement of Socialist progress, the Kremlin had to find a new and world-wide scarecrow. The Germans were chosen as successors to The Bomb, and once again strangely coinciding with the Kremlin's new propaganda line, Mr. Kramer (may we call him a lifelong strange coincider without hurting his feelings?), presented *Judgment at Nuremberg,* a picture in which the Germans were revealed to be just as deadly as—only yesterday—The Bomb.

If Mr. Kramer brilliantly proved in his historical horror picture that the Germans—their masks of *gemütlich* beer guzzlers or of cosmopolitan gentlefolk to the contrary notwithstanding—are Nazis, it also revealed why Americans have been led to go soft on the Nazis and appease Germany. The reason, of course, is that the wire-pullers behind the scenes want to fight Russia. In fact, the hero of the picture is a wise and wonderful American judge who slowly learns the true, beast-like nature of the Germans, and, presiding over an Allied War Crime Trial, bravely resists pressure to acquit Hitler's murderers in order to form with them a common front in the Berlin blockade—a moral hero in the best American tradition. (At the beginning of the Berlin blockade, the Allied war crime trials, in which Soviet war — and peace — criminals were judges rather than defendants, had already terminated. But to make a message "hit hard," as brainwashers put it, history must be rewritten.) "It is unreasonable to suppose that the United States is in danger from Russia or Communism . . . but the nomination of Germany as the watchdog to guard us against peril attains fantastic heights of madness," Henry Morgenthau Jr. stated in 1945; and Mr. Kramer still seems to believe in 1962.

Gale from the East

This movie is not merely a straw in the wind, but a weather vane in a gale which comes from the East. With its onslaught of books, articles, television films released over the past months, it threatens to blow down the new American image of Germany. Starting with the Berlin blockade, observing the rise of prosperity and democracy in the Bonn Republic, impressed by the German commitment to Western values, Americans in the 1950s had learned to see the new Germany as one of their few staunch allies in the common resistance to Communism. Moreover, public opinion in this country had become aware of the fact that Germany today has little, if anything, in common with the Third Reich. Ideals, aspirations, and even weaknesses seemed remarkably alike, in West Germany and in this country, as a political, economic, military partnership evolved between both. The Communists, of course, never ceased trying to weaken this new alliance. Ever since 1945 they have continued to keep anti-Germanism alive in this country (and, simultaneously, anti-Americanism in Germany). By conjuring up the spectre of the wartime enemy whom the United States and the Soviet Union fought together, Moscow hoped to revive this very alliance—that is, new Yaltas, Potsdams, and assorted other and still bigger surrenders to Uncle Joe and his heirs. What may seem surprising is that never since the Berlin blockade has this hope seemed nearer to fufillment than in 1962, when, despite the political realities, Moscow's brainwashing machine with all its non-Communist transmission belts was working full blast at the production of

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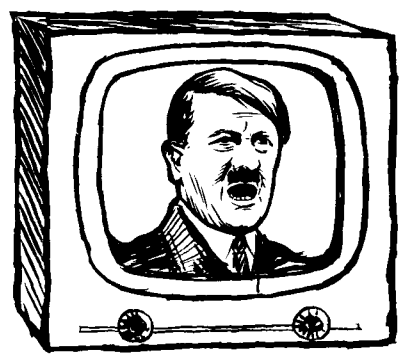
American distrust and hatred of the Germans. The trick consisted in bringing the pictures of the past to life again in the minds of Americans so that they would blot out the reflections of the present-time German reality.

Several extraneous events favored this attempt. The series of swastika daubings which began on Christmas Eve of 1959 in Cologne understandably shocked many Americans. Were the Germans still the Jew-baiters of yesterday, they wondered? Although the reaction of the government and the public at large in Germany indicated that this was not so, a certain uneasiness remained. Briefly thereafter, Adolf Eichmann was captured, and with this began a cram course in the history of Nazi horrors which went on for almost a year. At the end, the American public knew considerably more about the Nazi crimes of the past than about the crimes which the Communists committed in the past and are still committing today.

The Trend Begins

At this time, an unusually intensive advance publicity began for a book, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich.* William L. Shirer, its author, a former foreign correspondent, *amicus curiae* of the Hollywood Ten, and excerptor of other people's books, rehashed the wartime journalism of two decades. As an original contribution, he added on almost every other page (and his book has over 1,000 pages) his neo-racist insight that Nazism was the true expression of the German national character. In the eyes of many of the more than a million readers of the book, the Germans were bound to appear as a people who, given the opportunity, would always be Nazis. Since few readers could know the facts which Mr. Shirer ignored and which refuted his smug neo-racism, inevitably they were led to conclude that Americans must fear the Germans.

While this book still decorated the best-seller lists, other writers were busy proving that Shirer's insights had already been borne out in the new Germany where the Nazis were still—or again—ruling the country. In the same month when Mr. Kramer's *Judgment* was presented, there appeared a book by one T. H. Tetens. It purported to enlighten Americans on this very fact—the Nazis were back again in power. The book was widely publicized and taken seriously, although the author's previous record, if nothing else, should have put him beyond the pale of intellectual respectability. In a book published in 1953, he had predicted that



Adenauer would betray America by 1955; he claimed that "the Pentagon" was working hand in glove with a secret Nazi center in Madrid which, not unlike the Wise Men of Zion, lorded it over the world and of whose existence only he himself knew; finally and seriously, he submitted that the Nazis had planned the German World War II defeat in order to be better able to conquer their enemies thereafter. But even the title of this silly science fiction of 1953, *Germany Plots with the Kremlin,* sufficed for Herbert Mitgang, in his *New York Times* review of Mr. Tetens' book of 1961, to introduce the author as a seasoned expert: in what was undeniably the most nonsensical non-sequitur of that year, Mr. Mitgang stated that the prediction of a German plot with the Kremlin had now come true at the Berlin Wall!

In 1961, Mr. Tetens offered a scrapbook of newspaper clippings, most of them either outdated or unsubstantiated, and an even more impressive mass of his own inventions. On the basis of all this, the author, who remains reasonably safe from libel suits by German officials, screamed that Adenauer's Germany is Hitler Germany. Naturally, he denounced only West Germany, while he remained silent about East Germany, where former Nazis who turned into Communists really hold high positions. But then this was to be expected of a writer who informed Americans that the Cold War had been maneuvered by the secret Nazi center in Madrid, without which Washington and Moscow would happily coexist.

More than a dozen other books, mainly paperbacks and without value, on Nazi atrocities or Nazi history have been published in the last months. To cash in on the stimulated interest, and to exploit the success of the best-sellers, all that was needed was to commission hack work on Hitler and to decorate it with a few large swastikas on the cover. Today, more swastikas hit a visitor to an American bookstore than, say, to a *Reichsparteitag* in Hitler's heyday. Even when a book such as John Dornberg's *Schizophrenic Germany* made a feeble attempt to be fair and to suggest that there is not much of a Nazi danger today, the contents were camouflaged behind a misleading title and advertisements (which, we may assume, were read by more people than the book itself) conveying the opposite.

In literary and entertainment fields, commercialism is often the best ally of Communism in America. While the Communist manipulators induce their fellow-traveling troops to "create a trend," some business interests are always eagerly waiting to join it and profit from it. Even more than in book publishing, this can be observed in television where, since 1961, dozens of old war movies have been rerun. The war propaganda image of the Germans—all of them cruel Nazis and aggressive militarists out to destroy us—successfully competes with Indians, gangsters and other badmen to entertain the American audience and to disturb the sleep of the little ones.

In this grand design of overwhelming the present with the past, Moscow's own diplomacy has done its best to strengthen suspicion and hostility against the Germans. After denouncing neo-Nazi, revanchist Germany in continuous notes, and repeating that only legitimate fears of this new-old Germany stand in the way of peace with the West, in December it added fuel to the flame by denouncing General Adolf Heusinger as a war criminal whose extradition it demanded. This German general, an anti-Nazi cleared by allied and

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German investigations of any suspicion, now serves on a NATO top command post in Washington. The United States Government returned this note without affirming its trust in this slandered ally. It remained for *Oberstdivisionaer* Max Weibel, Heusinger's former opposite number in the Swiss General Staff, to set the record straight and absolve Heusinger completely of the Russian charges of having planned aggressive warfare against neutral Switzerland during the war. The American public did not even learn of this authoritative acquittal of a charge to which American newspapers devoted their front pages. Suspicions lingered; the new German army recalled the old Wehrmacht in the eyes of readers who were not familiar with the fact that this new army was part of the NATO structure, commanded by non-German Western officers, under democratic controls and unable to fight on its own—even if it wanted to, which it does not.

Moscow's Purpose

If the image of our German ally as a jack-booted Nazi army can be popularized as Moscow tries to do, a "protest wave of American public opinion," not to mention that wicked phantom called world opinion, is bound to forestall the equipment of German troops with atomic arms which they need to defend the West against a Soviet attack. When world opinion threatens, can Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt be far behind? This well-known thinker on military affairs in December vigorously protested nuclear weapons for the Germans because "eighty per cent of their officials are ex-Nazis." This information probably came from a friend who had read an ad of Mr. Tetens' book, but to silence others with a more accurate opinion, she volunteered that "every day people in Berlin go over to that new empty bunker where Hitler died. . . ." On December 13, when Mrs. Roosevelt publicized this information, the Wall in Berlin was precisely four months old; and since Hitler's last bunker happens to be in East Berlin, rarely in history was there stronger evidence for the untruth of a statement made in public. But the daily newspapers which had run Mrs. Roosevelt's inside information did not run a correction, let alone an apology.

Six days after Mrs. Roosevelt and, more subtly perhaps, *Look* Magazine, a valiant veteran of German-baiting fair or foul, used the same technique to discourage Americans from defending freedom in Berlin. In *Look,* Mr. Shirer, the if-historian, told in great and gory detail what would have happened in this country "If Hitler had Won the Second World War." And this twelve-page nightmare presented as news was followed by several pages of a picture essay on "Berlin 1961." The conclusion was obvious: after what the Germans have done, why should we care what happens to them? *Mourir pour Berlin?*

Like any other Big Lie, Communist propaganda never creates its bogeymen and phantoms out of a vacuum. Whether its prime target is Wall Street or the Pentagon, The Bomb or the Germans, it builds up and exploits fears, suspicions or resentments which already vaguely exist. Communist anti-Germanism is able to influence Americans who, although they are not Communists, harbor dormant prejudices against a country which was their enemy in two wars. Some are wary of "being fooled twice—shame on me!" after they felt fooled once when the Weimar Republic collapsed. Others recall the slogans which wartime propaganda hammered into their youthful minds, and also the realities of Nazi crimes. By hammering away at the past again, while making light of the very different present as well as of Communist crimes, Germany—that is, a Nazi and militarist Germany—reappears as a clear and present danger.

Obviously such brainwashing can do serious harm to America's readiness to defend freedom against Communism. What is less obvious, although perhaps even more harmful, is the damage to our defense strength in Germany itself. By a vicious circle, anti-Germanism in America creates anti-Americanism in Germany. As over the past months the echoes of the anti-German campaign have resounded in Germany, responsible pro-Western Germans began to ask: Can we rely on the Americans who refuse to rely on us, although we have given ample proof of our reliability over the past twelve years—a period as long as that of the Third Reich itself? Next the question is being raised whether this concerted campaign against Germany is not perhaps a prelude to an American sell-out. Right now, few Germans would answer these worried questions in the affirmative, but increasing anti-Germanism tends to increase their doubts. Exaggerated though the German fear of these American intellectual and entertainment trends may be, it is not quite unfounded. If Americans can be led to believe that they must defend a totalitarian Germany against a totalitarian Russia, they will prefer to retire to a neutral corner. And if they learn that there is a rising anti-American temper in Germany, their enthusiasm for the alliance will cool to a freezing point. This weakening of the Western alliance, more than anything that could happen in Africa, Asia, Latin America, could make the wildest Soviet dreams come true.

But today, Germany is our ally and wants to remain so. And today, we are threatened by the Red colossus, not the brown ghost. In fact, we live in the year 1962, not in the year 1942—a bold statement, perhaps, in view of the current anti-German wave from Moscow.

Cosmic Raze

"Rep. Herbert Zelenko introduced a bill yesterday to . . . prohibit the District government from issuing food and beverage licenses and occupancy permits to any private club that practices discrimination." —Washington Post

Lay siege to the Cosmos Club,
Herbert, my lad,
Demolish each stone
and pilaster!
Embargo their caviar,
liquor and lights . . .
Inundate the joint with
disaster!

I'm trotting behind you
with ladder in hand,
And a coke-bottleful
of Greek Fire,
For my daughter would *love*
to enroll at West Point,
(And my son has an eye
on Sweetbriar!)

ELEANOR MELLICHAMP SMITH

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The Third World War

Western, Yes, but Hard

JAMES BURNHAM

I have been analyzing the Afro-Asian-Neutralist-UN Strategy, which, through the influence of the Stevenson-Cleveland-Rostow clique in the Kennedy Administration, has during the past year been the chief guide of our foreign policy. I have contrasted this Afro-Asian-UN Strategy with "the Western Strategy." The Western Strategy is oriented primarily on the developed, not the underdeveloped, regions. It conceives that the decisive historical issue of our age is the challenge of the world Communist enterprise to Western civilization. It understands the main theater to be central and eastern Europe. It assigns priority, not to developing the underdeveloped, but to maintaining and strengthening the Western alliance.

In basic historical and strategic line, the Western Strategy is most certainly correct. If one stops talking clichés, this is really obvious. What do Togoland plus Somalia plus Yemen plus Y plus Z—and throw in Indonesia to make sure you're not setting up a straw equation: what does such a sum weigh against Britain? Or both Congos plus Afghanistan plus Bolivia, Libya, Ceylon and what have you, against France? Add India itself to any combination, and try that as against Germany. In every such case, the geopolitical weight of the major Western power is so much greater than that of the neutralist combine that the pointer drops below the end of the scale.

Direction is Not Enough

But the comparison does not end with the quantitative reading. Even if one of these neutralist Afro-Asian nations after which Messrs. Stevenson-Cleveland-Rostow go so hotly whoring were or were about to become powerful enough to mention in the same sentence with Britain, France or Germany, they would still not be Western: that is to say, their fundamental ideals, morality, metaphysics would not be ours. Messrs. Stevenson - Cleveland - Rostow can't seem to get it into their heads that most Hindus, Moslems, Buddhists, Kali-worshipers and cannibals don't give a damn whether Western civilization survives.

So the Western Strategy, understood in its fusion of geographical, historical, moral and religious meanings, is the only rational strategy. But a Western strategy, without further condition, is not enough. There are both soft and hard versions of Western strategies. It is a semi-paradox that, *in relation to the world conflict with the Communist enterprise,* the softer versions are more familiar than the hard. And among the individuals who hold to a Western strategy, there are many who are, or have been, Softs.

For example, there have been many with a Western strategic outlook among the members of the Union Now, Atlantic Union and similar organizations, and in the Council on Foreign Relations. But many, even most, of these persons have been Softs. They assign priority to Western civilization and its family of nations, as against the Afro-Asian neutralists; they support the Western Alliance and usually favor some sort of Atlantic Common Market or Community. But they have held such views in a strategically passive way. So far as relations with the Soviet Union and the world Communist enterprise go, not a few of them have been peaceful coexisters.

It is worth recalling that the Western orientation of these persons, or their ideological fathers, goes back a couple of generations. They were applying it, or thought they were, when standing with Britain and France in both great wars of this century. In those two instances they were by no means soft, but very hard indeed.

We have once more reached the key, the heart of the matter. These Soft Westerners of the present phase have not recognized, or not admitted, that in the Communist enterprise we have an enemy, that we are at war. The Kaiser (with Prussian militarism) was an enemy; Hitler (with Nazism) was, supremely, an enemy; but Stalin, Khrushchev and Mao are not in the same profound sense enemies. Therefore the version of the Western Strategy as Soft, thus useless for our defense and survival. But useless in a different way.

Opening Scissors

The Afro-Asian-UN Strategy can never be serviceable, however much wealth and energy implement it, not even if some of those who carry it out are, as individuals, Hards. It can't get to the destination, no matter how hard and fast and long it goes, because it is on the wrong road.

But the Western road is the right one. It will lead where we need to go, if we add to the strategic insight which it expresses the required resolve and effort; the acceptance of the reality of the enemy and the war; the pursuit of meaningful victory in the war; the drive to seize, in time, the initiative.

Ten years ago the divergence between the two Grand Strategies was hardly noticeable. Since 1956, and most rapidly in the last year, it has become ever more apparent. As an inevitable consequence, a differentiation has begun among those who in the past appeared as more or less monochromatic representatives of official foreign policy. Serious Westerners can no longer feel at ease alongside Stevenson - Bowles - Cleveland-Rostow. As they distinguish themselves from the Afro-Asian-UN strategists, they become subject to the pull of the Western Strategy toward its complete, or Hard, position.

This process of differentiation comes increasingly into the open. Professors, soldiers, military analysts, officials, journalists are being heard from, in public print and private memorandum. With *Foreign Affairs* printing an attack by Senator Fulbright on the UN orientation; with the *New Republic* featuring a paper by Charles Burton Marshall that is not only Western but Hard; why then, almost anything may happen.

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Letter from Asia

What Makes Japan Tick

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

It is curious to visit Japan again after a lapse of four years. It enables one to see what belongs more or less permanently to the Japanese scene and what is subject to the impact of time and circumstance. In Tokyo, for instance, countless new, extremely solid and impressive buildings are going up and yet (and in this it is similar to Los Angeles), it will probably never be a city in the concrete sense of the term. By the end of 1957 the masses of the Japanese had reached at least prewar living standard. Today it is obvious that they never had it better. And the zenith is far from being reached. It becomes more and more evident that Japan's weal depends almost entirely upon international trade—which, aside from other factors, makes Japan an integral link in the Free World economy. While lecturing all over the United States, I was struck by the number of Japanese businessmen, scientists and engineers I encountered. Over here in Japan I met Western businessmen everywhere. This pleases a great many people but dismays others. The extreme Leftists, who suddenly have come to dislike internationalism, and certain nationalists who still dream the ancient, but obsolete, dream of autarchy oppose these Western influences. The accidental fact that the occupying nation is today Japan's first customer and importer gives them the shivers.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

Ice-Covered Volcano

Early in 1961, I investigated the ills of Latin America and came to the conclusion that the tragedy of that tormented continent lies primarily in the lack of what might be described as a "frenzy for work," coupled with a desire to live just as well as the Americans and West Europeans. This means that Communist or "national-socialist" demagogues, who promise well-being by confiscation, will always have their way. Hence I was keenly interested to find out, particularly in contrast to Latin America, what makes Japan's modern industrial (and agricultural) life tick. What creates this, for the Far East, almost unique readiness to work hard and without letup; this sense of work-responsibility and work-discipline; this urge to save, to reinvest, to organize; this awareness of time pressure and of detail? No country in Europe can boast of these virtues and talents.

The answer is not easy. Anyone familiar with the Japanese stage realizes that the Japanese suffer from violent tempers and that their self-control is painfully and meticulously superimposed. Torn between tremendous loves and hatreds, the Japanese realizes that he has to master his emotions, or perish. The Sacred Mountain Fuji—an ice-covered volcano—is probably a most valid symbol for the temperament of the Japanese. It is more than probable that their propensity for hard work is not truly "native" either. The explanation that nature forces them to work hard—work or starve—is hardly a cogent argument. Other nations have this same grim alternative and fail to meet the challenge. And there can be little doubt that the Japanese, by nature, is eminently playful, that he is an arch-example of the *homo ludens*. The Japanese, the men at least, eagerly grasp at every occasion for play. *Go* and Chess, are at least as popular as *pachinko*, a version of "the one-armed bandit," and a kind of pin-ball which amounts to a mania. The Japanese is not half as purposeful as we think. His mind becomes preoccupied with esthetic questions. He loves to browse, to engage in endless conversations, to eat sweets, to leaf through books superficially, and to while away his time with hobbies. It seems to be some power outside of himself which drives him to work.

This is explained historically, at least in part, by the old tradition of receiving commands and carrying them out. But it is pagan feudalism, not imperial absolutism which is responsible for this state of affairs. (The accent is on pagan even more than on feudalism though the Tokugawa rule had distinctly totalitarian features.) In the religious field, Shintoism with its accent on obedient reverence, and Zen Buddhism (the most important gland in the Japanese body) with its iron self-discipline, have cooperated in creating a human type which, at a later period, in peace as well as in war, can easily be harnessed into a national economic endeavor. The desire to beat other nations, and not only in the military domain, is quite general. The result is a collective discipline which survived even the catastrophe of war.

Spiritual Void

This discipline is now being reinforced by a mounting personal ambition for material gains. Advertising today has its effects not only in southern Spain and southern Italy, but also in the Far East. The Japanese male craves not only comforts but is also ready to engage in conspicuous consumption. Even women like to boast about their gadgets. The whole Japanese culture and civilization is in motion.

What will be the outcome? The vanishing religions have left an enormous spiritual void which Christianity cannot begin to fill in the near future. Polls have revealed a real sense of despair and emptiness among the youth, especially among university students. There is a certain melancholy substratum in the Japanese soul which gives to this vacuum a special flavor. Few other nations have such an acute tragic sense of life. Given the intellectually low level of so many universities which sprang up overnight after 1945, a *fausse idée claire* like Socialism or Communism has very distinct chances. Today, at least, the Red heresy encounters no solid, organized resistance, though it is losing momentum in the present unexpected prosperity.

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Religion

Again, the Social Gospel

WILL HERBERG

What was the cardinal error of the Social Gospel? It was not that it advocated social and economic reform as part of Christian responsibility; if the Christian faith is to be relevant to the common life at all, it must make the Christian citizen particularly sensitive to the need for reform, where such need is found to exist. Nor was it merely that the Social Gospel, at least through some of its representatives, came out for the replacement of the capitalist economy by socialism; however misconceived this agitation was, it was not this that constituted the *theological* vice of the Social Gospel.

Herberg

The cardinal error, the theological vice, of the Social Gospel was something much more fundamental: it was the proclivity to present the social and economic policy advocated as the simple and unequivocal demand of the Christian faith, and to insist that Christianity was *in its very nature* committed to a particular social system or economic principle. Thus, in his celebrated work, *Christianity and the Social Gospel* (1907), Walter Rauschenbusch declared: "The Church should help public opinion understand clearly the difference between the moral qualities of the competitive and the Communistic principle, and enlist religious enthusiasm on behalf of that which is essentially Christian." To Rauschenbusch, it was obvious that the "Communistic" (that is, socialistic) principle was "essentially Christian" and the "competitive" principle "essentially" anti-Christian, because the former seemed to be based on love and fellowship and the latter on strife and conflict. It became a received dogma among these otherwise dogma-less Christians that "socialistic cooperation" was closer to the "mind of Christ" than "capitalistic competition"; and they conducted their preaching and their agitation accordingly—with consequences how disastrous we are only now beginning to realize.

Well, this kind of thing is not quite so common nowadays. Even "idealistic" clergymen have come to understand that it is quite possible for a market economy, with its economic competition, to come closer to implementing Christian social concern for a free and responsible society than the bureaucratic cooperation enforced under socialism. But the root fallacy of the Social Gospel is by no means dead; it has merely transferred its field of operations from economic affairs at home to foreign affairs and international relations abroad. Here the Social Gospel ideology survives to spread its social and theological confusion in matters where clarity is so indispensable to survival.

Not very long ago, an eminent Protestant churchman, high in ecumenical circles, delivered an address in which he bitterly denounced a senator for his "non-Christian" foreign policy, and formally threatened him with the loss of "Christian" votes for his politico-theological heresy. "Should not a well known senator from this state," he thundered, "fear the votes of professing Christians when his isolationism and Asiatic imperialism reveal him as clearly non-Christian in contrast to the President [Mr. Eisenhower], who urges Christian patience and understanding?" This sentiment was loudly applauded, and repeated from a thousand pulpits and in the columns of scores of journals throughout the country.

And just the other day, the general council of a great church, in its Christmas letter, instructed its millions of members on the meaning of the Christian faith for our time. "As Christians," the church leaders urged, "let us cultivate in all the world that spirit of friendship which Jesus first taught us, and thereby seek to lay the foundations for international understanding. . . . If a diplomat stays at the conference table after his spirit is empty and his heart aches, let us support him and tell him so."

Consider what is said and implied in these pronouncements, which could be duplicated for every church and denomination in this country. The policy of "patience and understanding" in dealing with Russian and Chinese Communism is held to be not merely well advised and proper under the circumstances, but *intrinsically Christian*, while a "tough" policy is held to be "non-Christian"—presumably because "patience and understanding" are eminently Christian virtues! Remaining at conferences with Communist wreckers is held to be not merely good strategy, but a "reflection of the spirit of friendship which Jesus first taught us!" Are "patience and understanding" in international affairs always so obviously and unequivocally Christian? Were the advocates of "patience and understanding" with Nazi Germany the spokesmen of Christian responsibility? And is militant struggle for overseas positions so unequivocally evil and "non-Christian"? Was it evil and "non-Christian" for Britain and the Netherlands in the last war to fight inch by inch to protect their Far Eastern interests against Japan? On the other hand, was it Christian to be "impatient" with Germany and Japan two decades ago, whereas today Christianity demands "patience," just because we are dealing with Communists rather than with Nazis or fascists?

Or take the question of the Christian virtue of forgiveness. The same eminent churchman I mentioned at the opening of this essay took occasion, in the course of a well publicized newspaper interview, to criticize a distinguished congressman for the "intemperance" of his remarks. "[This congressman's] tendency," he said, "is to enflame the emotions by recalling Communist atrocities, which are of course reprehensible. It contrasts unfavorably with what ought to be the Christian attitude to forgive and love one's enemies." So it is a

(Continued on p. 109)

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

A Bill to Harm Colleges

What is the most urgent problem, in this time when the foundations of the great deep are broken up everywhere, now confronting the United States House of Representatives? Why, a porkbarrel plan to pour a billion and a half dollars into bricks and mortar for our swollen colleges and universities, naturally. Speaker McCormack and Representative Adam Clayton Powell have hurried this bill into hearings before everything else—apparently in the hope that it may slide through before Congress understands its consequences.

Kirk

Congresswoman Edith Green is the bill's sponsor. She would have Congress appropriate $1,500,000,000 over a five-year period to grant and lend money to colleges for building new classrooms, libraries and laboratories. (The Federal Government already is in the loan business for college dormitories, in a big way.) Behind this scheme is the assumption that enrollments in our colleges should be doubled in short order, in the sacred name of Education. Few measures could do more mischief to the higher learning in America.

A writer in *Harper's* recently pointed out that probably half of the students *now* enrolled in our colleges haven't the foggiest notion of why they're in the Academy; and only a tiny percentage—one per cent, possibly—really desire the rigorous cultivation of their intellects. Twenty years ago, Dr. Robert Hutchins predicted the overwhelming of our colleges and universities by incompetent and substantially ineducable students, unless restraining measures should be taken; and time has proved him right as Cassandra. In California, four out of every five high-school graduates already go on to some sort of college or institute. First-rate scholars and college teachers are aghast at the lowering of academic standards by the coming of this mob of bored and purposeless "students"; even Dr. James Bryant Conant grows uneasy. Double present enrollments, and the works of the mind will get short shrift at most institutions.

Academic Empire-Builders

Of course some of the college presidents who endorse this bill mean to use their share of the money prudently. But the more enthusiastic backing comes from such anti-intellectual academic empire-builders as President Hannah of Michigan State University, who says blandly, "Some form of outright federal aid to education is essential if we are to meet the demands upon our colleges and universities in time." By high-pressure publicity and a powerful lobby to wheedle the Michigan legislature, Dr. Hannah has built a Behemoth University at East Lansing; the student body now approaches thirty thousand, but he would like twice as many. Dr. Hannah is all for the mass-age, and damn the consequences to the intellect.

Apparently this largess of public funds would not be discriminatory: Dismal Swamp A & M, or Podunk Secretarial University, naturally, are quite as deserving as Princeton or Stanford: the only test of need is appetite. Rope the boys and girls in, and run them through the educational assembly-line: that's Education, isn't it? The soberer college presidents are mild in their commendation, or positively opposed to the bill. Dr. Carroll Newsom, of New York University, points out that even private institutions, if they have any merit, can find through ordinary channels the money needed for justified expansion.

Now, the more money the Bureau of Internal Revenue takes from taxpayers, the less money will be available for private benefaction to colleges and universities. This means that once the Washington people begin to pay the bills for all colleges, the mediocre or inferior institutions will fare at least as well as the great universities, per student, and our better colleges and universities—particularly the private and church-connected ones—increasingly will have harder lines than before. In the long run, federal grants will be no blessing to them.

As the American population increases, of course there should be an increase in college enrollments. But normal expansion of facilities from normal sources of college income already is being accomplished. What the zealots for doubling of enrollments want is to gratify the American appetite for the snob-degree. It is another instance of the degradation of the democratic dogma. Education is a Good Thing, and brings prestige and "status": therefore let every red-blooded American boy and girl, no matter how slack or stupid, be a Bachelor of Arts—and presently a Doctor of Philosophy, I suppose. And as things are going, scarcely one hidie-hole will remain for the professor who seeks genuine academic leisure and learning; or for the sincere student who would like to get away from the fun and games to read some books.

A Killing Kindness

Perhaps the snob-pressure and the campus-playground pressure can no longer be resisted very successfully. But at least we can refrain from actually bribing college and university administrators into degrading standards and kicking Mark Hopkins and his log down to the limbo of forgotten things. Some months gone, Secretary Ribicoff hectored the college presidents of the Association of American Colleges for not demanding more spoils from the federal treasury. Well, now a good many of them have gone over to the high and noble policy of Gimme. But anyone who has read Newman's *Idea of a University* ought to write this day to his congressman, asking that our House of Representatives refrain from killing colleges with kindness.

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Madness in Their Method

GARRY WILLS

The large new Merriam-Webster has all the modern virtues. It is big, expensive and ugly. It should be a great success. It has 450,000 entries, including "to pearl harbor," verb, transitive, meaning "to attack suddenly without warning." There is only a single authority listed for this word, but that one is of the highest magnitude. It is *Time* magazine.

Of course, it is not difficult to come up with 450,000 entries when one considers such new "words," as the following (all found on a single page): RB, RBC, RBH, RBI, RC, RCG, RCL, RCM, RCT, RD, RDA, RDC, RDF, RDX, RDY, and RE. And these weird intruders are not only words, but—most of them—*several* words. RC, for instance, means recruiting center, rehabilitation center, reinforced concrete, relief claim, release clause, remote control, reply coupon, resistance-capacity, and right center. RCM means both radar countermeasure and regimental court-martial. RD means reaction of degeneration, refer to drawer, regional director, right defense, rix-dollar, running days, rural dean, rural delivery and rural district. RE means . . . well, nine other things.

The proud boast of American lexicography is that it does not legislate like the French Academy, it only records. In this democracy, even the dictionary has become a voting booth in which every man can drop his words, with no literacy test to slow the traffic. Undoubtedly there are people who use RD for "refer to drawer," and Merriam-Webster III is not going to *discriminate* against them. And only an oppressor of the poor would even suggest that "ain't" is not a desirable addition to any man's vocabulary. So Merriam-Webster comes down, four square, for-by-and-of The People, asserting in the teeth of the facts: *ain't* is "used orally in most parts of the U.S. by many cultivated speakers."

Webster's Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged. G. and C. Merriam Co., $47.50

There is a madness in this editorial method. No one is allowed to improvise or speak with a purely personal stamp. Let "to pearl harbor" once slip through *Time's* presses, and the voracious editors of this dictionary have added it to their catalogue. Shaw used words like "unoverlookable" precisely because they were not in any dictionary. It is a luxury he would not enjoy now, or not for long. Tomorrow his whimsy of the evening would be fixed behind those five formidable pages of consulting scholars. One cannot even use a word metaphorically without having this deliberate misuse lose its freshness: the clear image "emotionally torn" calls for a separate section as a separate meaning under the verb "to tear."

Another problem is that once this process begins it can never end. I might decide, and let the reader in on my decision, to refer to the book I am reviewing as M-W III. But then M-W IV would have to list this new word: would have to, that is, if consistency were possible in such a catch-all. But it is not. In its own list of abbreviations, the dictionary *does* have an MW ("Middle Welsh"). But this is not in the dictionary itself. Why not? Less used than "refer to drawer" or "running days"? *How* less used? Again one of the most frequently-used words in this book's preface on phonology is the name of that important person known as "the r-dropper." But *r-dropper* is not defined in the dictionary. Of course, we might be expected to arrive at the meaning of this compound by a glance at its components, acting on Johnson's lexicographical rule that words "formed by a constant and settled analogy" can be omitted "because their relation to the primitive being always the same, their signification cannot be mistaken." But the modern editors have not acted on this principle. Their inclusion of adjectives in *-wise* is already notorious, and we are not allowed to deduce the meaning of *cake cooler, cake flour,* or *cakebread.* A man is not only Scotch, but Scotchy and Scotchified—in a geographic, not an alcoholic, sense.

THE dictionary's traditional function was to establish normal usage, which implies norms. This obviously allowed freedom for the extraordinary use of words—for coinage to meet a unique occasion. It left Shakespeare free to do things beyond a lexicographer's dreams, and it left the ignorant or arrogant to twist things their way in obscurity. But the new dictionary has only one standard—inclusiveness. Since this goal can never be achieved, nor all the possible variations be listed or anticipated, the new book is at best inconsistent and at worst oppressive. Since it tries to include *everything,* it places a strange stigma on those things it overlooks—and they are many. Are these, then, *nothing*? As permissive parents, when they finally have spasms of anger or guidance are forced by their position to be the worst authoritarians, so the permissive dictionary develops its own democratic academicism, an accidental authoritarianism less enlightened than, but as rigid as, the French Academy's. Blind chance rules; but it is a hard ruler.

The editors of this wondrous stew do not feel they have any duty toward their own language, any job of defense or purgation or clarification, any even minimally normative function.

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They believe not only in The People ("the ultimate arbiters of our linguistic standards," in the words of the Editor-in-Chief), but in Progress. Language, like all things, will advance of itself, and our only task is "to keep *up with* our changing standard of language," with "up-to-date English *that no prescriptive rules can interfere with.*" The lexicographer is part Gallup, part IBM machine, part voting booth. He does not need to

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON: ". . . defined, where the new dictionary only multiplies similar words."

think and choose. The future is shaping itself: "It is now fairly clear that before the twentieth century is over every community of the world will have learned how to communicate with all the rest of humanity." It would be "interfering" for Editor Philip Gove to get under the wheels of Language's proud advance. The best he can do is contribute to the growth of Esperanto by filling his pages with RB, RBC, etc.

WHILE men are paying fifty dollars for this new dictionary, the Samuel Johnson lexicon remains out of print and virtually unobtainable. That in itself is a judgment on our time. Johnson is our greatest lexicographer because he knew that language is not some separate force that goes its own way. It has been shaped by man's mind, and like all things with their source in man, it tends constantly to go shapeless. Words, "like their author, when they are not gaining strength, are generally losing it." These signs lose their history, get battered and broken, end pointing nowhere. Words tend, in their passage through the lazy and hazy minds of men, toward inanition, and this inanition must be fought with the Socratic tools of definition. Johnson's job, he thought, demanded that he and his readers *think* about words. Thus he defined, where the new dictionary only multiplies (and so blurs the distinctions between) similar words. Compare Johnson's definition of *caution*—"Prudence, as it respects danger"—with Merriam-Webster's "heedful prudent forethought to minimize risk of danger." (Does this mean that caution cannot *eliminate* or *avoid* danger?)

When the *New York Times*, that other believer in The People and in Progress, devoted a brief editorial to the spoofing of some of this dictionary's gaucheries, poor Mr. Gove felt he had been pearl harbored by his ally-in-arms. He wrote to the paper deploring the scandal that might be caused by this apparent breach in the forces of the Future:

> When a peerless newspaper that in 110 years has proved itself again and again to be the most respected and reputable everyday professional user of words in the United States attacks an established organization that has been from an even longer time a respected and reputable observer and recorder of word usage, the impact is bound to disturb a good many people.

But Mr. Gove assures his erring brothers that "We plan to continue reading and marking the *Times* as the number one exhibit of good standard contemporary cultivated English."

Let the people look toward their saviors; but our language will be saved, if it is not too late, by harder men, men willing to discipline themselves in the use of language, men not willing to let others smash what has been formed with such effort. Such men do not think that communication is advanced by the surrender of definition, by the effacing of linguistic barriers, by an anti-discrimination law extended even to our dictionaries.

Fiction

Thoroughly Traditional

ROBERT O. BOWEN

THE TWO NOVELS and one short story collection under review here have several things in common. To begin with, none is domestic; both Vercors and West are foreigners outright, and

Sylva, by Vercors. Putnam, $4.95

Daughter of Silence, by Morris L. West. Morrow, $3.95

I Remember! I Remember! by Sean O'Faolain. Little, Brown, $4.50

O'Faolain is Irish still despite a long American residence. Then, the books —excepting one Irish-American story by O'Faolain—are quite British and Continental in setting. The most important single factor about the three, though, is their common respect for the traditional values which inform Western civilization.

Vercors' *Sylva* is a first person narrative by a man who saw a fox transformed into a girl and who then labored in his quiet British backwater to make a civilized person of her. Written as a chronicle, with a great deal of editorial commentary as well as scene, the novel is reminiscent of the transformation tales of Algernon Blackwood and Robert Louis Stevenson, which dwelt similarly on the dichotomy of soul and flesh.

The hero's problem is more obvious than simple. Since Sylva is a girl in flesh but a vixen in soul, the hero's feeling is originally something like that of a master toward a pet, and he resolves the social problem by presenting the fox-girl as a retarded niece. However, as a human intellect develops in her, he finds himself loving her. So the question: Does one love the soul or the flesh? Sylva herself poses her problem in Existential terms: "Why does one exist, all of this?" The question of what is bestial is heightened by an old girl friend of the narrator, who for lack of love degenerates into a narcotic addict and plays the foil to Sylva's primitive consciousness.

The last line of *Sylva* poses a tight,

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No, But I've Read the Book

Since the days when Randolph of Roanoke tried to talk the Senate into outlawing the bowdlerized text of Shakespeare, such as high schools still use, American literacy in public places has drifted the other way. Now we have Tarzan tossed out of a California grade school, for living in sin with Jane. This happened over the Christmas holidays, and cries and countercries went up. Grosset and Dunlap assured the Republic that Lord Greystoke and Miss Jane Porter, of Baltimore, were married with full rites of the Church of England on page 313 of *The Return of Tarzan,* the second of the twelve-volume saga. The good folk of Downey, Calif., were thinking of Hollywood's Tarzan.

In Burroughs' pages, when Miss Porter met Tarzan formally—she had seen him previously when he rescued her from the attentions of the ape Terkoz, a suitor unacceptable to La Porter—he could read and write English (a trifle mushily), could speak "ape and a little elephant," and French. By the sixth volume of the epic Tarzan speaks Arabic, English, German, Bantu, a great deal of elephant, Swahili, French, monkey, Middle English, lion, Abyssinian, and has a fair understanding of American. So it goes. Open your *Frankenstein* and hear the monster quoting Aeschylus; see him Byronizing over the sublimity of the Alps; look at the poor critter in Hollywood's hands.

A grumpy stickler for consistency might complain that it's not fair to deteriorate both ways: to debase Tarzan with one hand and then ban him with the other for being a vulgar shadow of his chivalric self. And Tarzan, if you will, is immoral. To the student of ideas he is the man superciliously above the law, the superman with lifted nose. He is, in fact, Sherlock Holmes catalyzed by Rousseau and Fenimore Cooper and set in Darwin's imaginary jungle, fit and surviving. And Holmes is but Walter Pater dressed up like a sleuth so that the British public could participate, after all, in the arcane doings of the Aesthetes (Holmes the most dedicated and last Pre-Raphaelite of them all).

But you can't have everything as clear as you would like. Tarzan isn't ever going to be banned because the sensibilities in those novels are blunt and numb and are frequently in contempt of the kind of blundering justice which the rest of us have to make do with. As matters stand we can only urge Mr. Burroughs' authentic Tarzan on, good-hearted lunkhead and brilliant linguist that he is; for, compared to his diminuendo in film, comic book, and vacuum tube, he is a grand and noble creature indeed and, alas, worth a defense.

GUY DAVENPORT

funny, and somewhat horrible conclusion.

MORRIS L. WEST'S *Daughter of Silence* deals with a post-World War II vendetta and murder trial, set in the Italy West wrote of so successfully in *The Devil's Advocate*. During the war a vicious would-be partisan leader raped and had executed as a collaborator a virtuous widow. The widow's young daughter swears vengeance, and some years later shoots him. At her trial she is defended by an Italian advocate and a vacationing British analyst.

The problems of the book all render down to aspects of justice and charity, and in each development of plot and subplot we find the necessity for someone to resign himself to his humanity, to his fallible nature. The Italian defendant and advocate and the citizenry of the novel are wildly passionate, almost uncivilized in their passions. Each is a bungled anomaly of charity and treachery, justice and bestiality, and always their problems ironically call for more wisdom than knowledge, more charity than intelligence.

The girl is tried for her cold-blooded noonday shooting of the ex-partisan. Her advocate had been an idealist but defends her more for her reputation than justice, and in the process he becomes infatuated with her. Meanwhile his faithless wife and father-in-law abuse him as a person and still hope for him as a relative. Into this Latin mare's nest of passion and idealism the British analyst stumbles as a friend, colleague, and expert witness. The trial develops the "I accuse" motif of the nineteenth century, for the community had been intimidated into silence and collaboration by the murdered man. With the Freudians, West says: "This was the tragedy of the human condition: that every single act was contingent upon another in the past and spawned a litter of consequences for the future." However, he pursues the consequences not as biochemical puzzles but as studies in both "moral infirmity" and "mental infirmity."

In requiring a serious analysis of moral infirmity, West resembles Vercors. In both *Daughter of Silence* and *Sylva* the characters consciously resolve problems relative to the will and to an individual conscience that finds dignity and justice only in submitting to a bigger order than the self, in submitting to a natural moral law, to God. These novels are traditional in the most thorough sense, and though both touch particularly modern problems—as Sylva's "Why does one exist?"—neither is Existential.

THE third book is a short story collection, *I Remember! I Remember!*, by one of the old masters, Sean O'Faolain. These are pictures of Irish folk and Ireland since The Rebellion, and sad pictures, many of them, of people not so much lost as momentarily turned about. The best known of these, "The Sugawn Chair," has all the nostalgia of the man two generations from his peasant past and still not quite free of "a back" as a homeplace on the land.

I Remember! I Remember! is gabby and gossipy in the Celtic tradition. At moments, as in "A Shadow Silent as a Cloud," O'Faolain hits a near-Joycean touch of self-revelation in a character, but a distinct difference separates the two. Joyce's *Dubliners* handled people lost to faith and hope and charity. O'Faolain's Irishmen are essentially good people in these virtues though they are faced with the normal if often miserable problem of maintaining dignified footing in a shifting world. His archi-

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tect in "Shadow Silent as a Cloud" has an honest reverence for the buildings of the past but realizes that something has to be torn down to make room for the new. Painfully he must compromise his own beliefs in the building of a housing promotion on an old estate where he had wooed a first, idealistic love.

O'Faolain's lonely oldsters and anguished youths all feel a great Celtic passion for life and always see a terrible sadness in its passing. "Two of a Kind," in which a lonely Irish seaman discovers a long-lost, errant aunt in Brooklyn on a miserable Christmas, is emotional but not corny. The title story, "I Remember! I Remember!" is again valid in showing the obsessive nostalgia of an Irish paraplegic and her Americanized sister's horror at her own inability to cope with all that concrete past. O'Faolain's Irish sadness contains hope, however. He is no end-of-the-worlder.

Though none offers the profound vision of great literature, each of the three books reviewed here is more pleasant reading than the general run of contemporary American fiction, and each is more serious and more honest. In short, these are three good books.

Who Does Govern?

WILLMOORE KENDALL

THE branch of political science called "comparative government," whose lineage reaches back through De Tocqueville, Montesquieu, Machiavelli, and Polybius to Aristotle himself, always knew this: before *generalizing* about government we must make ourselves familiar with *particular* governments. That branch has at present fallen on evil days; we have no contemporary Bryce, and the monographic literature about particular governments that a contemporary Bryce would use as his raw materials is in a sickly state. But the books it produced remain; and they are, apart from the literature of political philosophy itself, the nearest thing we have to a "science of politics" that students can be required to master without, for the most part, wasting their time.

Who Governs? by Robert A. Dahl. Yale, $7.50

Now: in the United States political scientists have poured considerable energies, over the past fifty years, into a branch called, because it deals with the governments of counties and municipalities, "local government." We ought, therefore, to "know" as much about "local government" as about "comparative government." But in point of fact we know little or nothing about it, in large part because the study of local government has *not* taken comparative government as its model. Rather it has sought to "compare," and to generalize, without first knowing thoroughly the things being compared, that is, without exhaustive preliminary inquiries into particular local governments—for all that the investigators had them to hand by the thousand, and for all that it was only a matter of applying to them the techniques that Bryce had used in *The American Commonwealth*. To put the point otherwise: nobody ever got around to "doing a Bryce" on an American city or town, and "local government" (for a number of reasons that want discussing in their proper place) remained a "science" of generalizations based on uninvestigated particulars.

Robert A. Dahl's *Who Governs?* is, for these reasons and any way you look at it, a major breakthrough in American political science, and a work destined, deservedly, to influence profoundly all future investigation of our politics. Casting aside the inhibitions that have made political scientists postpone such a study fifty years beyond the date at which it should have been attempted for the first time, Dahl *does* a Bryce on an American city (New Haven, Connecticut), treating its history, its problems, its politics just as seriously, just as attentively, just as thoroughly, as we are accustomed to see those of the Nation-State treated—that is, without apologies for the narrowness of the investigation, without haste to pass along to some broader inquiry

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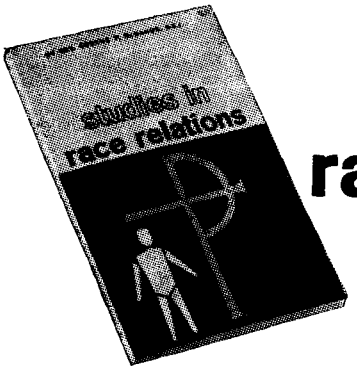

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By Eugene P. McManus, S.S.J.

163 pages
Paperback $1.50

Here is an authoritative book, in easy, readable style, that examines the problem of race relations in an intelligent and factual manner. Topics of discussion include: What Are Race and Prejudice?; Bishops on Race Relations; Morality of Racial Discrimination and Segregation; What Can the Individual Do?. An appendix lists Human Relations agencies and a bibliography on Human Rights.

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capable of yielding broader generalizations, without doubts as to the relevance of the findings to our knowledge of how politics work. Within its limitations moreover, of which more later, the book is masterful, imaginative, and courageous. I recommend it unreservedly to the attention of all students of American politics, alike for what they will learn from it and for the further thinking it may cause, and even help, them to do.

WHO, according to the author of *Who Governs?, does* govern? One summary answer, which perhaps does not do too much injustice to Dahl's rich and complex solution of the problem he sets himself, is: "Nobody in particular; New Haven is governed 'pluralistically'." Another is: "Certainly not the 'boss' to whom the findings of earlier investigators of local governments seemed to point; certainly not the covert 'oligarchy' that figures so prominently in what we may call the mythology of American local government; and certainly not the greedy and implacable 'mass,' demanding pork chops and ever more pork chops, which we learn about from contemporary anti-democratic political theorists; the evidence, once you have it before you, bears out none of these hypotheses." Another is: "Different people for different purposes—one set of leaders, assisted by sub-leaders and standing in a complex but comprehensible relation to such and such a constituency among the led, one for one purpose, another for another." But these answers, if they do not do excessive injustice to Dahl's full answer, also do not do it adequate justice, because no statement in a brief review possibly can—indeed one of the reasons I should like to see the book widely read is that it may discourage know-it-all pronouncements, as to who governs, by persons who do not know what they are talking about.

Where does whoever governs govern? Dahl's most circumspect answer here is: "In New Haven, Connecticut, which is where I got my evidence." But he clearly believes (and leaves me convinced—as, however, I was before I read him) that the correct answer to the question "Who governs in New Haven?" is, with descending degrees of probability, applicable, as far as it goes, also to a) the politics of any American city, b) the politics of the United States in general, and c) democratic situations, that is, democracies in general—though he would be the first (and I the second) to enjoin great caution here, and to say that before attempting any sweeping answer we need many, many more studies comparable to his about New Haven.

A WORD now about the "limitations" within which Dahl can be said to have "done a Bryce" on an American city. The major limitation is, if I may put it so, moral. Having cut himself off from Aristotle in favor of the nice "objectivity" of contemporary "social science" (never mind that the sharp reader can see soon enough whose side, in contemporary political struggles, he's objective on), Dahl can go on and on forever about a local community without ever reminding himself that its function (for the local community, not the Nation-State, *is* the modern equivalent of the *polis*) is to provide for the good life. He can go on and on, that is, without any standard by which to judge its performance as a political system; and also (for such *is* the connection between morals and political science), without a point of view from which even to cognize its performance. Another, almost equally great limitation (no matter that in the end, though too late, he transcends it) is methodological. Officially, he can use only evidence that is "observable," "confirmable," and, potentially at least, "quantifiable," and this ends him up equating *politics* and the *political process* with *elections* and the *electoral process,* that is, treating as relevant only those matters that relate in some sense to the contesting of elections.

Thus arises the question that has dominated much of our best local government literature in the past: the question whether the American local community is so completely in thrall to the state legislature that a) it *cannot* provide for the good life, and b) its politics, concerned as they necessarily are with merely the police department, the fire department and a school system so devised as to have *no* relation to the good life except that of undermining it, *must* deal exclusively with trivia, *must* fail to capture the sustained interest of the citizens. Such limitations, sure as they are to be perpetuated and made increasingly restrictive by the very influence of Dahl's book, are a grave matter, and should be kept in mind by all who read the book.

One further point: Dahl is, off at the end, unable to explain the politics of New Haven without appealing to an entity, the "political stratum" of the community he calls it, which is a theoretical construct in the purest sense of the term, and attributing to that stratum what I at least should call the crucial political functions of the community. (That is what I mean when I speak of his finally "transcending" his methodological limitation.) That is well: *because* he is willing to appeal to it (*i.e.,* to be uncircumspect methodologically), his picture of New Haven politics ends up making far more sense than it otherwise would.

It enables an answer to the question, "Who, all that being the case as to 'who governs?', *rules*?"; or, "Who, that being the case about 'decisions' concerning the police department and that being the case about 'decisions' about the things that matter?" Let us, then, not twit him for it, unless by asking a question that, on Dahl's method, does not arise, namely: "Doesn't the system work—as regards giving the 'people' the *power* to rule without letting ourselves in for the horrors to which popular rule would actually lead—pretty much as the Framers intended it to?"

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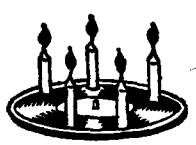

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Movies

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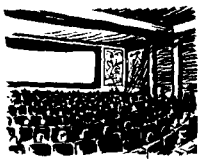

FRANCIS RUSSELL

THE BEST THING that can be said about *El Cid* is that as a screen epic it is not as bad as it might have been —or, indeed, as I had anticipated. This is really saying a lot when one considers that the producer, Samuel Bronston, and the "creative head of the Bronston story department" Philip Yordan were basically responsible for it, since these two were also responsible for the cowboy Christ of *The King of Kings*. The fact that the more egregious errors of taste and the more blatant sportshirt embroideries on the original legend have been avoided is due no doubt to Dr. Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal. Dr. Pidal, son of the great scholar and interpreter of the Cid to the modern world, by serving as historical and literary adviser, has kept a restraining if uneasy hand on the Bronston-Yordan exuberances.

The result is a two-dimensional pageant—a super-circus come to town. As a spectacle it manages often to be quite splendid, with gorgeous costumes and settings, hundreds of horsemen, thousands of soldiers in aluminum armor, maidenform maidens, and black-robed Moorish warriors thundering along the beach. And of course the background of the Spanish countryside is superb, particularly the austere upland landscape of the Guadarrama Mountains. Other parts of the picture were shot in Valladolid and La Mancha, and the old walled city of Peniscola was used as the setting for the Cid's assault on Valencia. I for one would have been quite content to have dispensed with both story and actors just to have watched a three-hour wide-screen travelogue of Spain in Super-Technirama.

In the current scenario the elaborated version of Corneille is followed rather than *El Poema del Cid*—with of course all the psychological subtleties removed. Little is left but combat—by singles, by tens and by hundreds. It is a bloody repetitive make-believe. After all, there are only so many variations on the clip in the chops, the clash of plastic swords, the technicolor blood (that always looks like ketchup), and the shivering of balsa-wood spears. And one charge of horsemen looks much like the next, particularly when the two opposing armies do not seem to know quite what to do once they have collided. After three hours the eye and mind wander and the theater seats begin to feel a little hard, and there seems a pins-and-needles quality to United Artists' proud boast that "nearly 900 years after El Cid rode in triumph, Samuel Bronston, Anthony Mann, Philip Yordan and their associates have brought his epic portrait to the world."

El Cid is a film for children and those whose development was arrested at the cops and robbers stage. As for the blood and ketchup, any child can take that in his stride. The juveniles that watched it with me at a Christmas-vacation matinee would have been horrified at seeing a cat run over in front of the theater. But for the multiple widescreen murders they had nothing but applause, with a unanimous "Wow!" as a sword-thrust went home or a kicking Moor was flung into the flames. I can't believe that such pseudo-bloodshed hurts young minds, for basic to their wowed enjoyment is the knowledge that it is just a masquerade, that the goods will win, the bads lose, and that all those heaps of corpses will survive to fight another day for United Artists. The real fault that I find with such film reworkings is that even when by some happy chance they are historically accurate they are just too emphatically pictorial, too explicit. With their visual insistence they usurp the active function of a child's imagination, and the sense of wonder that one should find in the old legends is lost in Charlton Heston's frown or Sophia Loren's pouting mouth.

Easily the most convincing part of *El Cid* was the tournament jousting of the Cid (Charlton Heston) and Don Martin of Aragon (Christopher Rhodes) on the field of Calahorra under the castellations of Belmonte. Here, as the trumpets brayed in the hard light and the spears shivered, I felt for once as if the old N. C. Wyeth illustrations in my bowdlerized child's *Morte d'Arthur* had come to life. Yet there was this vast difference. The scattered Wyeth illustrations were only a muted accompaniment to help visualize the trappings of the legend. They remained subsidiary to the imagined event. The glowing phrases were there—even in the bowdlerized edition—larger than life itself, full of mystery and enchantment to a small boy in a shabby Boston suburb as he read through the fading winter afternoon. The damsel sat on her palfrey, her face buried in her hands, as the two knights hacked and thrust at each other in the long sunlight. The horn hung on a thorn tree, and the green-clad stranger blew thereon three deadly notes. "Traitor," the King called out to Mordred against a scarlet sunset, "now is thy deathday come!" The pale hand emerged from the lake to receive Excalibur.

These mental images became to the small boy that was myself a part of a tremendous inner experience, stately and moving as the prose of Malory but impossible even to hint at by means of a technicolor pursuit with reverberating "Wows." Of course the legend of the Cid is much less familiar to us than the Arthurian legend, and no doubt it is better for the children of my matinee to have had a cinema nodding-acquaintance with it than none at all. Yet I could not help but feel sorry for them, those who were no longer allowed to dream their own dreams. And I wondered again if minds constantly so conditioned might not end up by losing the creative capacities of their imaginations altogether.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

EUROPE'S NEEDS AND RESOURCES, by J. Frederic Dewhurst, John O. Coppock, P. Lamartine Yates and associates (The Twentieth Century Fund, $12). Five years in the making, this massive (1,198 pages) study of the economies of eighteen Western European nations is at once an analysis and a part of the most hopeful phenomenon of the postwar era: the recovery of prosperity and unifying purpose on the Continent. Dr. Dewhurst, who has twice brilliantly explored the American economy, here pursues a "European approach," drawing on the talents of economists and scholars from many countries and

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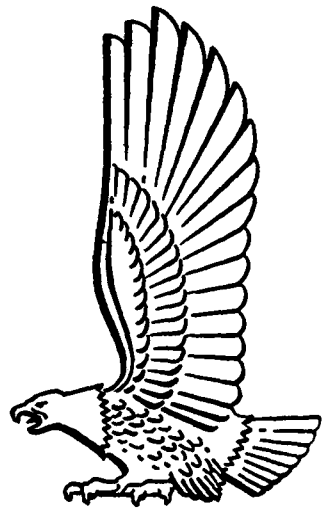

"Socialism is only an idea, not an historical necessity, and ideas are acquired by the human mind. We are not born with ideas, we learn them. If socialism has come to America because it was implanted in the minds of past generations, there is no reason for assuming that the contrary idea cannot be taught, to a new generation. What the socialists have done can be undone, if there is a will for it. But, the undoing will not be accomplished by trying to destroy established socialistic institutions. It can be accomplished only by attacking minds, and not the minds of those already hardened by socialistic fixations. Individualism can be revived by implanting the idea in the minds of the coming generations. So then, if those who put a value on the dignity of the individual are up to the task, they have a most challenging opportunity in education before them. It is not an easy job. It requires the kind of industry, intelligence and patience that comes with devotion to an idea."

Frank Chodorov, Founder and President
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(From the essay, "A Fifty Year Project," written in 1950. This essay served as a blueprint for I.S.I.)

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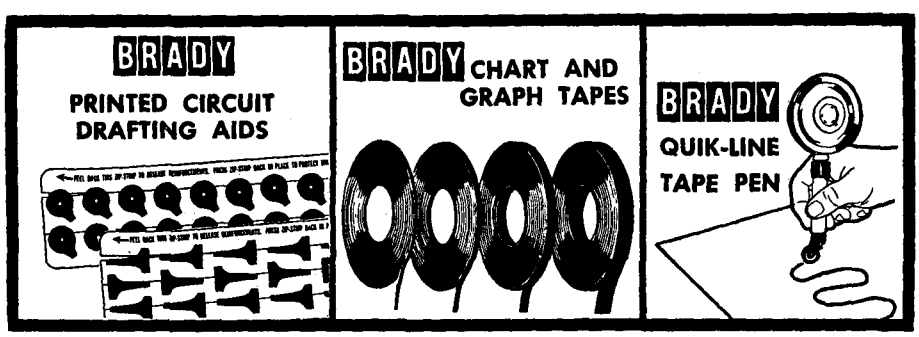

treating his immense subject topically, rather than geographically. Americans, for the most part, remain unaware of the implications of free Europe's surge toward unity around the Common Market. Some, including even ardent anti-Communists, regard the trend as somehow a threat to this country's security and well-being. As the great change worked by expanding economic freedom overseas forces painful but essential change here, those ignorant of the stake will be in danger of upholding the familiar only because it *is* familiar. Here is a learned, readable and comprehensive guide to common sense; in sum, a timely masterwork of the economist's craft.

R. WHALEN

THE IMMEDIATE EXPERIENCE: *Movies, Comics, Theatre and Other Aspects of Popular Culture*, by Robert Warshow (Doubleday, $4.50). This collection of essays on comic books, movies, fashionable enthusiasms, and other gestures of popular culture is virtually the complete works of an editor of *Commentary*, the critic Robert Warshow, who died, aged 37, in 1955. The analysis of what Herbert Marshal McLuhan has scrutinized as "the folklore of industrial man," a choice subject that has claimed the attention of George Orwell and James Agee, found a sensitive and careful scholar in Mr. Warshow. He contemplates the movie gangster as tragic hero and the cowboy as pastoral saint; Krazy Kat and Superman; the pitiful clichés which Julius and Ethel Rosenberg embedded in their death-cell letters. Warshow's prose is sincere and firm; his ideas are both searching and humane. He does not, like Mencken, guffaw at the vulgarity of his subject nor, as temptation must have constantly suggested, deplore its tackiness. In studying comic books he had the sense to consult not a psychologist but a little boy. Mr. Warshow does not find any grandeur in our popular culture; he has found, however, a great deal of truth about American tastes, and what he has found is not at all obvious. Sherry Abel has edited the book and Lionel Trilling has contributed an illuminating introduction.

G. DAVENPORT

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To the Editor

A Prediction

John Kennedy's demand that the literacy test for voters be removed is to astute political observers a clear statement of his intention to run for a second term.

Staunton, Va. EUSTACE MULLINS

Herberg, Pro

Congratulations on Mr. Herberg's re-examination [Jan. 16] of the "platitude" that people have turned to Communism because the church has failed to offer sufficient appeal today. I might add:

1. Far from being a modern development, religion has lacked appeal for some since the days of the earliest Jewish prophets, and this has been due not to a defect in the prophets or their teaching but to the "hardness of heart" of those who "have eyes and see not." It is no new story that good seed is unproductive when falling among thorns, on rocky ground, or on an unplowed roadside.

2. As to the counter-appeal of Communism, its limitation is exposed by the fact that, despite the greatest propaganda campaign in history, not even one country on earth is Communist by the will of its people.

Regarding Mr. Meyer's statement [Jan. 16] that "men cannot in actuality [seek virtue] unless they are free from the physical coercion of an unlimited state," the impossibility referred to is of course not absolute, since slaves *can* be saints.

State omnipotence is wrong not merely because of its adverse effect on individual souls and society but much more so because it is an outrageous usurpation of a prerogative of God. To any authentic theist it is simple common sense that no civil government has a right to be above God or outside his law. Since there can be only one Supreme Being, no believer in an unlimited state can be a genuine believer in God.

Memphis, Tenn. REV. J. A. FARRELL, C.S.P.

Herberg, Con

In regard to Will Herberg's article, "Reinhold Niebuhr: Burkean Conservative" [Dec. 2], I would like to present the following:

J. B. Matthews, in his book, *Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler,* has this to say concerning Niebuhr's position: "A distinguished professor in Union Theological Seminary, Reinhold Niebuhr, has given the Marxist ethical code at least a partial theological respectability among a large group of younger Protestant clergymen in this country over whom his influence is significant. In his book, *Reflections on the End of an Era,* Professor Niebuhr has expounded the view that we have, as social moralists, a 'choice between hypocrisy and vengeance.' Professor Niebuhr holds that the capitalist world is possessed by the 'demon of hypocrisy,' and that the Communist or radical world is possessed by the 'demon of vengeance.' As between these two, Professor Niebuhr prefers the 'demon of vengeance' because it is, in his opinion, capable of 'purer moral insights.'"

If this is Burkean conservatism . . . then indeed "conservatism" has really lost its moorings. . . .

Madison, Wis. DAVE A. NOEBEL

Loyalty Oath

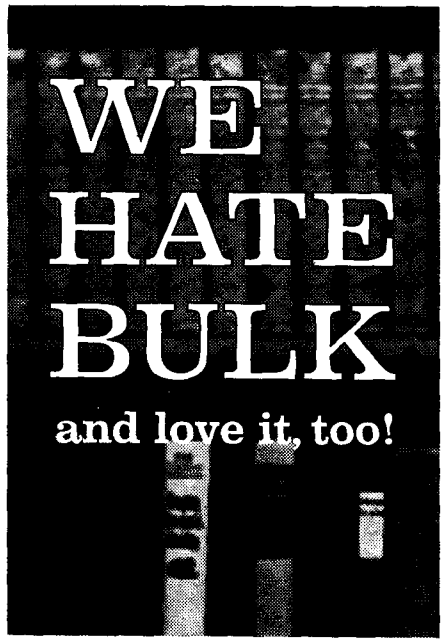
Perhaps your estimate of "General" Russell Kirk's victory over Michigan State University [Dec. 30] should be revised.

The Academic Senate of Michigan State University has never voted against the loyalty-oath provision in the National Defense Education Act, as he so confidently asserts on hearsay evidence. Your "General" needs to get his G-2 operations straightened out.

East Lansing, Mich. JAMES H. DENISON
Assistant to the President
Michigan State University

Problems of Representation

I would like to see a series of studies advanced on the pattern established by Lucius Wilmerding in his article, "Congress: Danger Ahead—1962" [Dec. 2]. Nothing could serve better to reveal to Americans the various maneuvers by which political democracy is gradually retiring from use the checks and balances which make the Republican form of government in this country what it is. As intimately bound with these checks and



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balances as are the liberties of individual citizens here, I believe an objective study of this kind is long overdue.

But I would have to ask Mr. Wilmerding if he has not contradicted himself in one instance. "We might argue," he states, "that the natural tendency of the general ticket system is to take the whole elective power of the state from the people and put it into the hands of a few political managers." He could have been more explicit and said (as might suit the case) "labor bosses." One of the chief arguments against the removal of the electoral college is that this would deliver the vote to labor-minded areas, thus implying something far worse than political democracy.

His solution to this *type* of thing, however, would be a law which would oblige each state to be divided into "as many districts as will equal the number of representatives to which the state is entitled," where each district "shall contain, as nearly as may be practicable, equal numbers of inhabitants."

After considerable debate, I have come to the conclusion that such a law, as so worded, would do nothing to resolve the outstanding and, to me, critical problem, so ably presented by Mr. Wilmerding, which is the centralization of the vote into areas of population density. What one would be achieving by equal representation based on numbers of voters would be nullified by the exercise of political maneuvering behind them. This is exactly what the framers of the Constitution sought to avoid when they determined the vote on the basis of land area. As demonstrated by Felix Morley in *Freedom and Federalism,* federal power was divided without regard to population ratios. This became a basic characteristic of federalism, acted as a check on the emergence of majority rule, and was not modified by the 17th Amendment to the Constitution (the direct election of senators).

Assuming that Mr. Wilmerding favors keeping the vote *out* of labor, or otherwise politically dominated, areas, I can think of no more appropriate measure than a law obliging the states to reapportion their districts. It would not be stretching the case, moreover, to resurrect the system of proportional representation which the author elects to call "exotic." It is still in operation in many states (Georgia, for one) with regard to the election of state representatives and performs, without incident, the function for which it was intended. At any rate, the proper course for any newly engendered voting precedents should be away from, rather than toward, population density, until some more brilliant solution to the problems of coercion, fear, political double-dealing, bargaineering, and what have you, comes into vogue.

Kansas City, Mo. KENT H. STEFFGEN

Judge Holmes' Taxes

An open letter to Mr. Mortimer M. Caplin, Commissioner of Internal Revenue:

Just a short note to thank you for sending me my Federal Income Tax Forms for 1961. I was intrigued by the front page, wherein you quote some man named Oliver Holmes as saying that taxes are what we pay for a civilized society, and that he liked to pay them. I feel that the message is inspiring, but feel that it would be even more so if you were to tell us just how much of Mr. Oliver Holmes' income was paid by the government during his lifetime, and how high was the maximum rate he paid.

It would benefit us also if you let us know how much of his taxes were ever spent on purchasing armaments for . . . Communist Yugoslavia, Communist Poland, neutralist Ghana and India, and pro-Communist British Guiana, and so on. I will answer my own question as to whether or not this information will be given by quoting another Mr. Holmes, Sherlock by name: "It will not be answered. That's elementary, my dear Watson."

Nashville, Tenn. D. J. ROBENS

Security Risk?

I was rather amazed at the lack of objectivity and verification of facts in Cato's attack on the person of Mr. Michel Cieplinski, Deputy Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Department of State [Dec. 2, 1961].

First of all, Mr. Cieplinski did not "emigrate from Poland a mere fourteen years ago" as Cato claims, for he has been right here in New York since late in 1939 and remained here ever since. . . . There must also be some special reason for denying this ardent, anti-Communist naturalized

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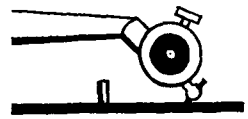

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American the constitutional equality of rights accorded to all citizens. Why should he be placed in the category of second-class citizens of questionable loyalty? . . .

I happen to know Mr. Cieplinski and his life record, which is above reproach. His devotion to our country was never questioned by people who know him. Poland, Mr. Cieplinski's country of birth, has one of the finest historical records in combatting oppression of any kind. . . . As a keen observer, Mr. Cieplinski has become a reliable source of information concerning Communist propaganda tactics and methods of infiltration, and as such he should be regarded as an extremely valuable asset in his present position, just as he has proved already to be a very valuable citizen to this country over the twenty-two years since he left his native Poland and settled in the United States.

New York City W. ZACHARIASIEWICZ
Executive Vice-President
Polish American Immigration & Relief Committee, Inc.

It is true, as Mr. Zachariasiewicz stated, that Mr. Cieplinski did come to the United States in 1939; and we apologize for that error. But the point Cato was making was that no man—no matter how good a citizen and how anti-Communist—should be employed in the security division of the State Department or any other sensitive government agency if he has close relatives behind the Iron Curtain. In such a job he is vulnerable to Communist blackmail and pressure. There was no intention on Cato's part of casting doubt on Mr. Cieplinski's patriotism or professional competence. —ED.

Judicial Restraint

Your 'Notes and Asides' [Dec. 30, 1961] concerning the Chief Justice points up the need for effective means of obtaining the judicial self-restraint to which Mr. Justice Stone referred in 1938, when he said: "While unconstitutional exercise of power by the executive and legislative branches of the government is subject to judicial restraint, the only check upon our own exercise of power is our own sense of self-restraint."

In an article appearing in the *Congressional Record* for April 20, 1961, at page A-2707, I pointed out, among other things, how the Supreme Court Justices have defied their respective oaths of office and have undertaken to rewrite the Constitution without regard to the provisions for the amendment thereof contained therein.

It is suggested that Congress assert the power vested in it by the people and enact a law which fixes the penalty for judicial defiance of oath of office . . . and at the same time enact legislation which will expedite impeachment and trial of those guilty of violating oaths of office.

Jamaica, N.Y. E. F. W. WILDERMUTH

Senator Bridges

NATIONAL REVIEW is to be commended upon its excellent tribute to the late Senator Styles Bridges. Senator Bridges was indeed a courageous American, Republican, and conservative. . . .

Hartford, Conn. JAMES D. MADDEN

Castro Supporters

Naive Liberals who supported the Fair Play for Cuba Committee must be shocked and humiliated by the recent State Department report, "Castro's Cuba." This devastating document officially demonstrates that during the past three years the Castro regime consistently and deliberately submitted Cuba to Communist domination.

If only one of the eminent professors would publicly admit his error in supporting the Committee, the others would charge him with treason. "Academic freedom" gives the academician the right to be grievously wrong with impunity.

New York City GEORGE GONZALEZ

Oops!

On page 401 [Dec. 16] you state, "Communist legal maneuvers had kept the Internal Security Act of 1960 [sic!] mewed up in the courts for eleven years. . . ." How could anyone "mew" (whatever that word means) up a one-year-old law for eleven years?

Seattle, Wash. CHARLES F. FROMME JR.

Collegiate View

As an American college student and dissatisfied viewer of the trends in this nation and the world, I respectfully submit the following headlines as ones we may expect to see in the not too distant future:

"Cuba Liberates Canada—U.S. Sends Protest Note"

"President to Negotiate Access Rights to Long Island—Is Optimistic"

"USSR Casts 3746th Veto on Proposal to Beg Members to Pay Dues"

"UN Welcomes 184th Member—Island of Madagalia, Population 64"

"Hearings Discontinued on Firing of General Vandiver for Use of Words 'War' and 'Free People'"

Brookline, Mass. MICHAEL P. CANNO

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RELIGION

(Continued from p. 96)

Christian virtue to stifle indignation at totalitarian brutalities and atrocities lest the "emotions" be enflamed? Should this admonition have been directed against those who tried (and unfortunately so often failed) to "enflame the emotions" of the West at the Nazi mass murder of Jews? Interpreting the Christian doctrine on love and forgiveness in this way completely ignores the fact that love without justice, love which ignores justice and permits no indignation against rampant evil, is no love at all, but an unctuous, sentimental fraud. I want to be restrained, but how can I be in the face of a doctrine which tells us to keep silent about the atrocities being committed by totalitarian despots lest we "enflame the emotions"? Or is it only Communist atrocities we are to be silent about? Why the double standard?

Recalling past atrocities may be altogether out of place—when these atrocities are no longer being committed and the perpetrators have been rendered powerless to repeat them. Otherwise, the very obligation of love and forgiveness requires us to remember that while speaking up may "enflame the emotions," keeping silent involves us in complicity in the atrocities being committed. In other words, there is a time for speaking out and a time for keeping silent; conditions under which we should be "patient" and conditions under which we should be "impatient"; situations where our diplomats should remain at conferences whatever the provocation and situations where they should walk out: neither one nor the other course can be simply and unequivocally identified wilth the Christian faith. Yet that is precisely what so many of our Liberal churchmen are doing. By identifying the Christian gospel with a "soft," "patient," "understanding" policy toward Communist totalitarianism under all conditions and circumstances, as the only truly Christian way, they are not only falsifying the meaning of Christianity and Christian responsibility; they are not only confusing counsel and befuddling the public mind; they are, however unwittingly, undermining our will to survive against the most frightful challenge Western civilization has been confronted with in a thousand years.

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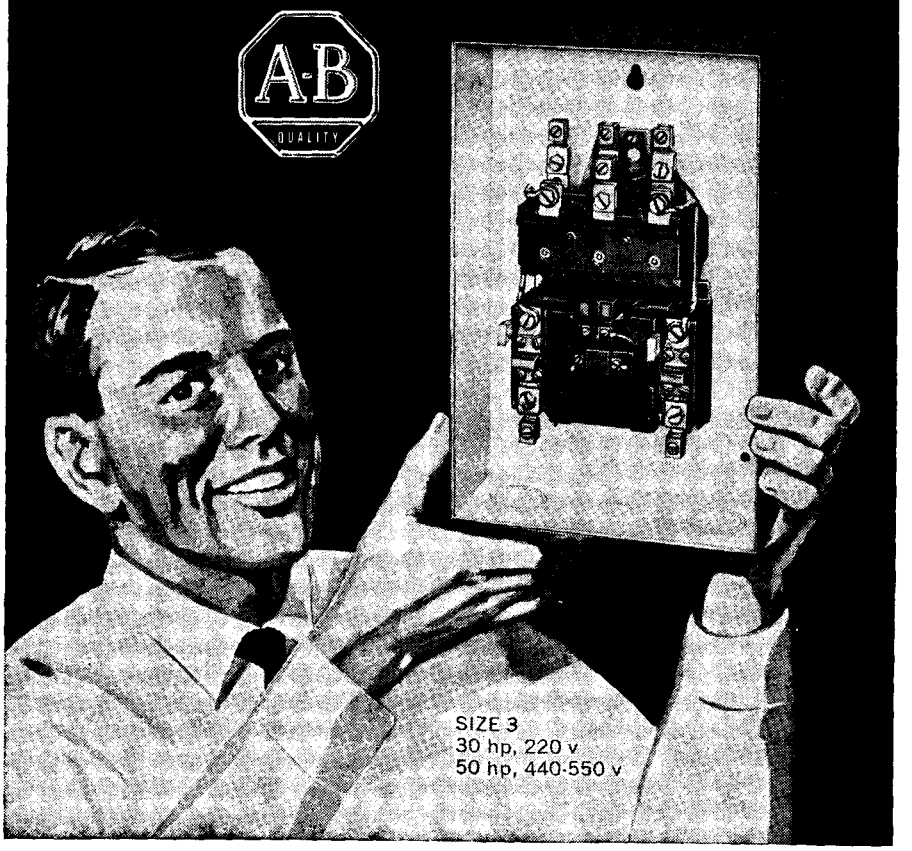

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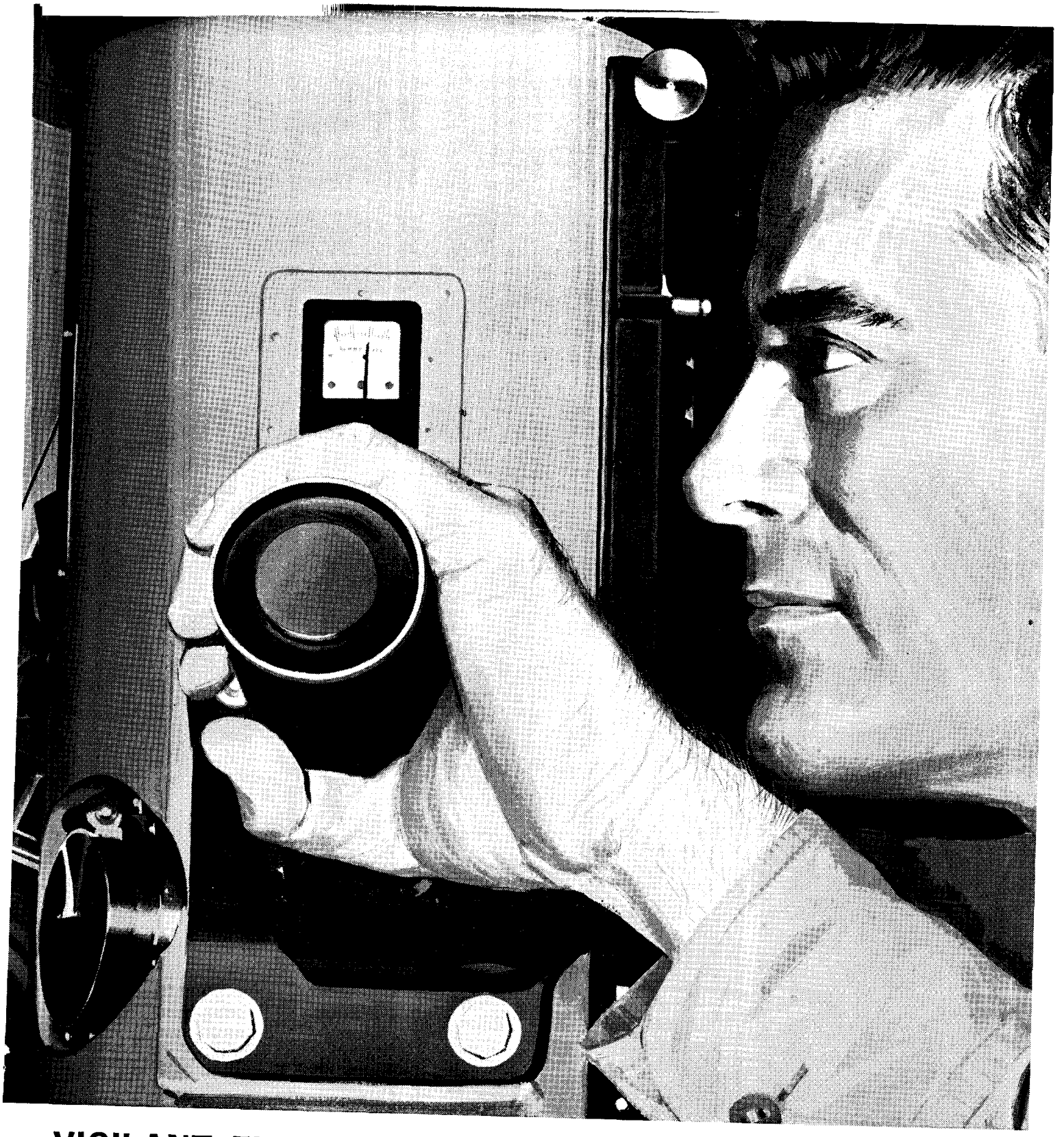

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